



IOHANNES IEWEL. S. T. D.
Episcopus Sarisburiensis.



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THE
APOLOGY
OF THE
Church of England;

AND
An Epistle to one Seignior Scipio
a *Venetian* Gentleman,
Concerning the
Council of Trent.

Written both in *Latin*,
By the Right Reverend Father in God,
JOHN JEWEL Lord Bishop of *Sarisbury*.

Made English by a Person of Quality.

To which is added,
The LIFE of the said Bishop;
Collected and written by the same Hand.

L O N D O N,
Printed by T. H. for Richard Chiswell, at the *Rose*
and *Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1685.

T H E
P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

THE ensuing Discourses
are all designed for the
Good and Service of the
Religion by Law esta-
blished; and two of them are so ex-
cellently adapted to that end by their
Author, that if I have not spoiled them
by an ill version, there can be no doubt
made, but they will be of great use.
Of the Third I beg leave to give some-
what a larger Account, because I am a
little more concerned in it.

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THE Life I have collected from Mr. Humfrey's, who wrote Bishop Jewel's Life at large in Quarto. 2. The English Life put before his Works which was pen'd about the Year 1609. 3. Mr. Fuller's Church History. 4. Dr. Heylyn's Ecclesia Anglicana restaurata, and others who wrote any thing that related to those times, and fell into my hands in that short time I had to finish it in. Mr. Humfrey's alone would have been sufficient, if he had observed an exact Method in Writing this Life; or been altogether free from Affections. But tho he tells us Bishop Jewel kept a Diary of his Life, and that he had assistance from Dr. Parkhurst Bishop of Norwich, Ægidius Lawrence, Mr. John Jewel the Bishops Brother, and one Mr. John Garbrande and others; and Printed his Piece in the Year 1573. which was not much above two years after the Death of Bishop Jewel, yet he has not observed any exact order or method in the
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History of his Life: and he no where tells us in what Year he was made a Fellow, or received Orders; nor from whom, only he tells us Mr. Harding took his Orders at the same time. Nor has he acquainted us when Mr. Harding published his first or second Antapologies, nor when the Bishop went to Padua, nor how long he staid there, nor who were his Partners in his Visitation for the Queen. Nor has he marked almost any of the principal Actions of his Life when they were done; and tho he mentions a Sermon at Paul's Cross, and a Conference with the Dissenters not long before his death, yet he neither tells us the time or occasion of either of them; but instead of these, runs out into Discourses against Harding and others of that Perswasion, which were nothing, or very little to his purpose.

THE English Life before his Works, is only an Extract out of Mr. Humfrey's Latin Work, but yet was helpful to me in many Particulars, being

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done by a wise Man, and who doth not seem to have been biassed as the former was; who makes it his business to represent both the Church of England and Bishop Jewel as wonderful Friends to the Churches of Switzerland, that is, to the Calvinists, because he, Good Man, was one himself, tho not so mad as those that followed; and upon this very account I do suspect he has left out many things that he might have related, and would have afforded great light to the Church History of those times, and especially to Bishop Jewel's Life.

Fuller is barren in his Relations of those times, the Bishop lived after his Consecration, tho he afforded me some good helps: Dr. Burnett has continued his History but a little way in Queen Elizabeths time, and Dr. Heylyn ended his with the beginning of the Year 1566. which was about Five Years before the death of Bishop Jewel, and I have neither time nor leisure, nor Interest to search the Records of those times,

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times, and compare the Editions of Books and other things by which this Life might have been put into a better Method, as to the timing of things.

And besides all this, it were perhaps indecent to put a long Life before two such small Tractates as I am to entertain my Reader with; but yet I hope the Life, such as it is, will give some light to the Discourses, and raise a venerable Idea of this good Bishop in the Readers mind, which were the things I chiefly aimed at in the Writing of it.

As to the Pieces, the first of these the Apology was written in Latin in the beginning of the Year 1562. or the latter end of the foregoing Year, and was occasioned by Pope Pius the Fourth, his calling the Council of Trent, and sending his Nuncio Martiningo to invite the Queen to it, and the interposition of most of the greatest Princes of Christendom, who wrote to the Queen to entertain the Nuncio and submit to the Council. Whereupon it was thought but reasonable

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sonable to give the World an account of what we had done in the preceding Parliament, and the reasons of it, and to retort the many Accusations brought against our Church by the Papists. And therefore it was but reasonable that it should be in Latin, that being the most common Language, and understood by the Learned Men of all Nations, and accordingly it found entertainment in all places, and was read in them. Which is more perhaps than can be said of any other Book written for our Church since the Reformation.

Mr. Harding had a great Quarrel against it, because it was not inscribed neither to the Pope nor to the Council. But there being no reason to make them our Judges, and they having no right to claim that Authority over us, it had been a great oversight to have made any such Inscription, which would have been a kind of making them what they had neither right nor reason to expect to be, and from whom we could expect no Justice.

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The Natives had without doubt a great desire to see what was in this Book which then made so great a noise in the World; and the Learned Men being then otherwise imployed, a Lady who was one of the most Learned of the Age, undertook that task, and made a very Faithful and perhaps Elegant Version of it for the time when it was made.

She was then Wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, second Daughter to Sir Anthony Cooke Knight, one of the Tutors to King Edward the Sixth, who being an excellent Scholar, had taken care to improve his Five Daughters so much in Learning, that they became the Wonders of the Age, and were sought in Marriage by great Men more for their natural and acquired Endowments and Beauty, than for their Portions, tho they did not want that neither. Mildred the eldest married William Cecil Lord Treasurer of England; Anne the second was this Lady Bacon; Katherine

Lloyd's State-
worthies p.374

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therine the third married Sir Henry Killigrew; Elizabeth the fourth married Sir Thomas Hobby; the fifth whose name is lost, married Sir Ralph Rowlet, all three Knights and Men of great Estates and Esteem.

This Version was made soon after the Piece was first printed, tho I cannot tell precisely in what year, for Mr. Humfrey tells us Mr. Harding answered the English Book, and it is so well done, that I profess I could never have made so good a Version as I have, if I had not been assisted by it; but then our Language is so much refin'd and exalted since that time (which is above an hundred years,) that it was perhaps necessary to put it into a more modish dress, in order to recommend it to the reading of those who do not much admire excellent Sense in a harsh and obsolete stile, and for this reason only have very many Books of late been new turn'd; and they of France who put out the Elegant Mons Version of the New Testament,

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ment, give no other Reason for it than this.

The *Epistle* to Seignior Scipio was written soon after the *Apology*, and to a private Venetian Gentleman in a more free and friendly way, as not being at all intended for the Publick. It was first Printed in English and Latin at the end of the Council of Trent; who made that Version I know not, but it is a very good one, and if I might have had so much liberty, I would only have altered a very few words in it, and so have Re-printed it again. But not daring to take that liberty with what belonged to other men, I have done it over again as well as I could, and perhaps the Reader will not be displeased to see it in the same stile with the *Apology*, in English as well as Latin.

But now who can enough deplore the Blindness, Pride and Partiality of those Men, who being led by Interest, and hood-wink'd by Ignorance, did at first imploy all the disingenuous Arts that spite and
preju.

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prejudice could furnish them with, to ruine this most Excellent, Apostolical, and Primitive Church; or force her to return back to the State of Corruption, out of which with so much labour, difficulty, and danger, she was then rising.

But there is some allowance to be made for the misinformation of Strangers, who being separated from us by the Ocean, were forced to take such Accounts as were given them by others; and 1. being too apt to believe the reports of their own Priests, whose Interest it was to blacken her what they could; And 2. those of our own Fugitives, who made the case much worse than they themselves thought it, that they might obtain the more pity, and consequently the better Relief and Provision abroad, which is wont to be afforded to all those that fly for Religion, amongst those of the same Faith; 3. And also suspecting the Fidelity of the Relations made by our Ministers in foreign Courts, 4. And of all our Travellers who stuck to, and im-

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embrac'd the Religion established by Law.

But then what can be said for those Roman Catholicks (as they will needs be called) who living at home here in England, and consequently having better means of informing themselves concerning the truth of things, cannot pretend to excuse themselves by those Topicks Strangers may? It was both their Duty and Interest to inform themselves of the Affairs of their own Country, and to submit to the Laws and Customs of it, whilest Strangers that are not under those Obligations, may excuse themselves if they do not make so diligent an inquiry into things, or happen at last to be mistaken in them. Besides in the Settlement under Queen Elizabeth, All the care imaginable was taken to unite the whole Nation in one Religion, if it were possible; and whatever was in the former Liturgy that might exasperate or offend them, was taken out, by which Compliances,

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Ecclef. Restau-
rat. p. 283.

Tortura Torti.
p. 130.

ances, (*they are the words of the Learned Dr. Heylyn*) and the expunging of the Passages before remembered, the Book was made so passable amongst the Papists, that for ten Years they generally repaired to their Parish Churches, without doubt or scruple, as is affirmed not only by *Sir Edward Coke* in his Speech against *Garnet*, and his charge given at the Assizes held at *Norwich*, but also by the Queen her self in a Letter to *Sir Francis Walsingham*, then being her Resident or Leiger Ambassador in the Court of *France*; the same is confessed by *Sanders* also in his Book *de Schismate*. And there is a report recorded by *Camden*, that the Pope offered to his Envoy *Parapalia* to the Queen, *Liturgiam Anglicam sua Autoritate confirmaturum, & usum Sacramenti sub utraque specie Anglis permissurum, dummodo illa Romanæ Ecclesiæ se aggregaret, Romanæq; Cathedræ pri-*

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primatum Agnosceret, &c. That he would confirm the English Liturgy by his Authority, and grant the English the use of the Sacrament under both kinds, provided the Queen would unite her self to the Church of Rome, and acknowledge the Primacy of the Roman See. Since that time nothing has been added that might in the least offend them. Why then do they act contrary to their Ancestors? Why do they pretend more Conscience than either their Fore-fathers or the Pope: ten Years was a sufficient time for them to have found out the Hereſie in, if there had been any in the Establishment. And we all know their Separation was not upon any scruple of Conscience they had, but in obedience to the Popes Bull. The Pope in the mean time did what he did purely out of worldly Interest and Policy, to advance his own Grandure and Wealth at their cost and trouble. If he could have secured this, the Liturgy and Doctrine of the Church of England should have been own'd for Catholick, and have

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been confirm'd by his Holinesses Authority. But what is this to them? Are they bound to promote his Temporal Interest with their Ruine, and the disquiet of their Country? Or how come they to be more obliged to separate from the Church, than to Rebel against the Crown, seeing the same Pope commanded both, and for the same ends, and is as infallible in the one as in the other?

But this is not our only Calamity, about the same time another sort of Men separated too upon direct contrary Pretences; Why 'tis our Antiquity, our Decency, our too great resemblance to the Church of Rome that offends them. We are not sufficiently purged for these Pure Men to joynt with; we have too little of the Primitive Church cries the one, too much says the other; too few Ceremonies, too much simplicity say the Papists; too many of the first, too little of the latter cry the Dissenters. Thus was truth ever persecuted on both sides, Christ crucified betwixt two Thieves, the Primitive Church

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Church persecuted by the Pagans on one side, and the Jews on the other. I venerate thy Truth and Moderation, O dear and Holy Mother, who dost so exactly resemble thy God and Saviour, and the Primitive Church both in thy Truth and Piety, and in thy Sufferings too, which are thy Glory!

But what shall I say for our Dissenters, who have run into such horrible Crimes as Schism and Rebellion, only on pretence to avoid that Popery, that Superstition that was only in their own Fancies and Prejudices? How can one and the same Church be persecuted justly for being too much and too little Reformed? Why have you separated from her Liturgy and Rites, who pretend to imbrace her Doctrines? Or if you must needs separate, why yet should you imbrue your hands in the Blood of your Sovereign and fellow Subjects on that account? Supposing you were in the right, this would not justify you, Christ never propagated his Church by Blood and Treason, but by Sufferings and Obedience.

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The truth is, this Church hath been persecuted because she alone of all the Churches in Europe, has had the Blessing and singular Favour of God to reform with Prudence, Moderation, and an exact and regular Conduct, after great and wise Deliberations, by the consent of our Bishops, Convocations, States, and Princes, without Tumults or hasty Counsels; and accordingly here was nothing changed but upon good Advice, after the most irresistible Conviction that it was contrary to the Word of God, the Sentiments of the Holy Fathers and Councils, and the Practice of the truly Primitive and Apostolical Church. So that the Papists themselves do even envy our Primitive Doctrine, Government, and Discipline, and both fear and hate us more than any other of the Reformed Churches. I could be contented (said a great Man of that Perswasion) there were no Priests (i. e. Popish Priests) in England, so there were no Bishops there. This and our excellent Liturgy, our decent Ceremonies,

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remories, and our excellent order moves their envy; they are the same things that have raised the Spleens and Animosities of the other side, with whom whatever is older than Zuinglius and Calvin, is presently Popery and must be destroyed. Tell them that Episcopacy was settled in all Churches in the days of the very Apostles, and by them; and they reply the Mystery of Iniquity began then to work, intimating if not affirming, that this Holy Order was a part of it. So that they will rather traduce these Holy Men, who sacrificed their Bloods for Jesus Christ and his Church, of Pride, Ambition, and a too great Love of Rule, than allow the Establishments of our Church. Nay they will rather root out the Monarchy, because supported by, and upholding Episcopacy, than shew any the least Reverence to the Church, in obedience to our Laws and Princes.

So that leaving these implacable self-condemned Enemies, give me leave, O ye Loyal and Religious Sons of this Holy

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and ever persecuted Church, to make my last Address and Application to you. You see by whom the Church has been ever persecuted; you see the reason of it; you cannot but know also what she has suffered on both sides; you have read the one, and your Eyes have seen the other; rouse up then, and take effectual care of this innocent, this persecuted Spouse of Christ. Stretch out your hands to Heaven by humble and fervent Prayers, and implore the Assistance of the most Holy God, for her safety and Protection against all her Enemies.

Let the Virtue, Piety, and Holiness of your Lives, assure the World that you profess this Holy Religion in good earnest, and that you do not dissemble either with God or Man in it, but are sincere and resolved to live and dye in this profession.

Put those Laws we now have in execution duly and regularly, and with Discretion and Mercy, not out of Bitterness and Passion, but out of Conscience and a true fear of God, and care of his Church; that

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that all the World may see it is nothing but a sense of your Duties, and a Zeal for God, that makes you active and prudently severe.

And as far as you shall have opportunity, take further care by new Laws, to secure this great and inestimable Blessing to your Posterity and the Generations to come, that they may rise up and bless God for you; and remember your names with Eulogies and Honour for ever.

And if any thing in these Papers may in any degree be serviceable to, and promote these good ends, I shall for ever be thankful to God and Man for the Favour.

What is the difference between a good and a bad person? A good person is one who is not afraid to die for his country. A bad person is one who is not afraid to die for his pocket.

[illegible]

The report of the committee on the
 subject of the proposed
 amendment to the
 constitution of the
 State of New York

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THE
LIFE
OF THE

Right Reverend Father in God

DR. *JOHN JEWEL*

Lord Bishop of

SARISBURY.

THO Truth and Reason may
justly claim the Priviledge of
a kind reception, whoever
brings them; yet such is the
Nature of Mankind, that the
Face of a Stranger is ever sur-
veyed with a little more than ordinary At-
tention, as if Men thought generally that *in*
it were the most lively Characters of
what they seek to know, the Soul and Tem-
per of a Man; now because this is not to be
expected at the first sight, in Books where
yet

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yet it is most eagerly desired; Men have attempted to supply that defect with Pictures; and (which affords much more satisfaction) by premising the Lives and Characters of the Authors, which gives the Reader a truer and more lasting *Idea* of Men, than it is possible for Pensils and Colours to attain to.

The Author of the ensuing *Tracts* ought to be so well known to all *English* men, that his Name alone should have given a sufficient Commendation to any thing that can claim a descent from him: But it being now above an hundred years since his death, and his Works which were for a long time chained up in all Churches, being now superannuated or neglected, it may not be an unreasonable piece of Service to the Church, to revive the Memory of this great Man, the stout and invincible Champion of the Church of *England*; who losing the opportunity of sacrificing his Life for her in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, did it with more advantage to us, and pains to himself, under her glorious Successor, when he so freely spent himself in her Service, that having wasted his thin Body by excessive Labour and Study, he died young, but full of good Works and Glory.

He was born the 24th of *May*, in the year of our Lord 1522. at *Buden* in the Parish of *Berinker* in the County of *Devon*; and tho a younger Brother, yet inherited his Fathers Name. His Mother was a *Bel-lamie*, and he had so great an esteem for it and her, that he engraved it on his Signet, and had it always imprinted in his heart; a last-

ing

sting Testimony both of her Virtue and kindness to him.

His Father was a Gentleman descended rather of an Ancient and Good, than very Rich Family. It is observed that his Ancestors had injoyed that Estate for almost two hundred years before the Birth of this great Man. And yet such was the number of his Children, that it is no wonder if this, when young, wanted the assistance of Good men for the promoting of his Studies; for it is said his Father left ten Children between Sons and Daughters behind him.

This *John Jewel* proving a Lad of pregnant Parts, and of a sweet and industrious Nature and Temper, was from his Youth dedicated to Learning; and with great care cultivated by his Parents and Masters, which he took so well, that at the entrance of the Thirteenth year of his Age, about the Feast of St. *James*, he was admitted in *Merton Colledge* in *Oxon*, under one Mr. *Peter Burrey*, a Man neither of any great Learning, nor much addicted to the Reformation, which then (in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth) went on but slowly, and with much irregularity in its Motions. But we are yet beholding to his first Tutor for this, that he committed this *Jewel* to Mr. *John Parkhurst* a Fellow of the same Colledge, and afterwards first Minister of *Cleave*, and then Bishop of *Norwich*, who was a Man both of more Learning and of a better Faith; and prudently instilled together with his other Learning, those excellent Principles into

In the English
Life before his
Works, is call-
ed *Witney*.

into this Young Gentleman, which afterwards made him the Darling and Wonder of his Age.

DURING his continuance in this Colledge, a Plague happening in *Oxon*, he removed to a place called *Croxham*, where being lodged in a low Room, and studying hard in the night, he got a lameness by a Cold which attended him to his Grave; having spent almost four years in this Colledge, the 19th of *August Anno Domini 1539*. the One and thirtieth of *Henry the Eighth*, in the Seventeenth year of his Age, he was, by the Procurement of one *Mr. Slater*, and *Mr. Burrey* and *Mr. Parkhurst* his two Tutors, removed into *Corpus Christi* Colledge in the same University, where, I suppose, he met with something of an encouragement; but it is much more certain he met with Envy from his Equals, who often suppressed his ingenious Exercises, and read others that were more like their own.

THE twentieth day of *October* in the following year, he took his first Degree of Batchelor of Arts, with a great and general Applause; when he prosecuted his Studies with more vigor than before, beginning them at four in the Morning, and continuing them till ten at night, so that he seemed to need some body to put him in mind of eating.

BEING now attained to a great Reputation for Learning, he began to instruct others, and amongst the rest *Anthony Parkhurst* was committed to his care by *Mr. John Parkhurst* his Tutor, which was a great Argument of his great Worth and Industry.

BEING

BEING thus imployed, he was chosen Reader of Humanity and Rhetorick of his own Colledge, and he managed this place seven years with great Applause and Honor. His Example taught more than any Precepts could; for he was a great admirer of *Horace* and *Cicero*, and read all *Erasmus* his Works, and imitated them too, for it was his custom to write something every day; and it was his common saying, that men *acquired Learning more by a frequent exercising their Pens, than by reading many Books.* He affected ever rather to express himself fluently, neatly, and with great weight of Argument and strength of Reason, than in hunting after the Flowers of Rhetorick, and the Cadences of Words, tho he understood them, no man better, and wrote a Dialogue in which he comprehended the sum of the Art of Rhetorick.

THE ninth of *February* 1544. he commenced Master of Arts, the Charge of it being born by his good Tutor *Mr. Parkhurst*, who had then the Rich Rectory of *Cleve* in the Diocess of *Glocester*, which is of better value than some of our smaller Bishopricks. Nor was this the only instance wherein he did partake of this good mans Bounty, for he was wont twice or thrice in a year to invite him to his House, and not dismiss him without Presents, Money, and other things that were necessary for the carrying on his Studies. And one time above the rest, coming into his Chamber in the Morning, when he was to go back to the University, he seized upon his and his Companions Purfes,

Purles, saying, *What Money, I wonder, have these miserable, beggarly Oxfordians? And finding them pittifully lean and empty, stuffed them With Money, till they became both fat and weighty.*

November
1548.

EDWARD the Sixth succeeding his Father the 28th of January 1546. the Reformation went on more regularly and swiftly, and *Peter Martyr* being by that Prince called out of *Germany*, and made Professor of Divinity at *Oxon*, Mr. *Jewel* was one of his most constant hearers; and by the help of Characters which he had invented for his own use, took all his Lectures almost as perfectly as he spoke them.

About this time one *Dr. Richard Smith*, Predecessor to *Peter Martyr* in that Chair at *Oxon*, who was more a Sophister than a Divine, made an insult upon *Peter Martyr*, and interrupted him publicly and unexpectedly in his Lecture: the *German* was not to be baffled by a surprize, but extempore recollected his Lecture, and defended it with a great presence of mind, the two Parties in the Schools being just upon the point of a Tumult, the Protestants for the present Professor, and the Papists for the old one.

Peter Martyr nettled with this affront, challenged *Smith* to dispute with him publicly, and appointed him a day: But *Smith* fearing to be called in question for this uproar, fled before the time to *St. Andrews* in *Scotland*. But then *Tresham* and *Chadsey*, two Popish Doctors, and one *Morgan* entered

This Dispute began the 28th of May, Anno Christi 1549. and lasted five days.

entered the Lists against *Peter Martyr*, and there was a very sharp but regular Dispute betwixt them concerning the *Lords-Supper*. And Mr. *Jewel* having then a large share in *Peter Martyr's* affections, was by him appointed to take the whole Disputation in Writing, which was printed in the year 1649. for the regulating this Disputation, the Council sent to *Oxon*, *Henry Bishop of Lincoln*, *Dr. R. Cox* Chancellor of that University, *Dr. Simon Haines*, *Richard Marison Esq;* and *Dr. Christopher Nevison* Commissioners and Moderators.

In the year 1551. Mr. *Jewel* took his Degree of *Bachelor* of Divinity, when he preached an excellent Latin Sermon, which is extant almost perfect; taking for his Text the words of *St. Peter*, *Ep. 1. cap. 4. v. 11. If any man speak, Let him speak as the Oracles of God, &c.* Upon which words he raised such excellent Doctrines, and made such wise and holy Reflections in so pure and elegant a stile, as satisfied all the World of his great Ability and Deserts.

In the same time Mr. *Jewel* took a small Living near *Oxon* called *Sunningwell*, more out of a desire to do good, than for the Sallary which was but small, whither he went once a Fortnight on Foot, tho he was lame, and it was troublesome to him to walk; and at the same time preached frequently both privately in his own Colledge, and publickly in the University.

BESIDES his old Friend Mr. *Parkhurst*, amongst others, one Mr. *Curtis* a Fellow of the same Colledge, afterwards Canon of *Christ-*

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Christ-Church, allowed him Forty shillings a year, which was a considerable sum in those days; and one Mr. *Chambers*, who was entrusted with distributing the Charity of some *Londoners* to the Poor Scholars of *Oxon*, allowed Mr. *Jewel* out of it six pound a year for Books.

1553.

EDWARD the Sixth dying the sixth of July, Anno Domini 1553. and Queen Mary succeeding him, and being proclaimed the Seventeenth of the same month, *Jewel* was one of the first that felt the fury of this Tempest, and before any Law was made, or so much as any order given by the Queen, was expelled out of the Colledge by the Fellows, upon their private Authority, who had nothing to object against him, but 1. His following *Peter Martyr*; 2. His Preaching some Doctrines contrary to Popery; 3. And his taking Orders according to the Laws then in force: for as for his Life, it was acknowledged to be *Angelical and extreamly honest*, by *John Moren* a Fellow of the same Colledge; who yet at the same time could not forbear calling him *Lutheran, Zuinglian, and Heretick*. He took his leave of the Colledge in these words, as near as I can render them in English.

Fuller in his Church History, saith he was expelled for refusing to be present at Mass.

IN my last Lectures I have (said he) imitated the Custom of famished Men, who when they see their meat likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatch'd from them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my Lectures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you (contrary

trary to my former usage) with much unpleasant
and ill-dressed Discourse, for I see I have incurred
the displeasure and hatred of some, but whether
deservedly or no, I shall leave to their considera-
tion; for I am perswaded that those who have
driven me from hence, would not suffer me to live
any where if it were in their Power. But as for
me, I willingly yield to the times, and if they can
derive down to themselves any satisfaction from
my Calamity, I would not hinder them from it.
But as Aristides, when he went into exile and
forsook his Country, pray'd that they might never
more think of him; so I beseech God to grant the
same to my Fellow Collegians, and what can they
wish for more? Pardon me my Hearers, if grief
has seized me, being to be torn from that place
against my will, where I have passed the first part
of my Life, where I have lived pleasantly, and
been in some Honour and Imployment. But why
do I thus delay to put an end to my Misery by one
word? Wo is me, that (as with my extream-sor-
row and resentment I at last speak it) I must say
farewel my Studies, farewel to these beloved
Houses, farewel thou pleasant Seat of Learning,
farewel to the most delightful Conversation with
you, farewel Young men, farewel Lads, farewel
Fellows, farewel Brethren, farewel ye beloved as
my Eyes, farewel ALL, farewel.

Thus did he take his leave (saith the Author
of the English Life before his Works) of his
Lecture, Fellowship and Colledge; and was re-
duced at one blow to great Poverty and
Disserition: but he found for some time a
place of Harbour in Broadgates-Hall another
Colledge in the same University. Here he

met with some short Gleams of Comfort; for the University of *Oxon* more kind than his Colledge, and to alleviate the Miseries of his Shipwrack'd Estate, chose him to be her Orator, in which capacity he curiously penned a Gratulatory Letter or Address (as the term now is) to the Queen, on the behalf and in the name of the University, Expressing in it the Countenance of the Roman Senators in the beginning of Tiberius his Reign, exquisitely tempered and composed, to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove at the same time to display their colours in it; the one for dead Augustus; the other for Reigning Tiberius. And upon the Assurance of several of her Nobles, that the Queen would not change the established Religion, expressing some hopes she would so do, which was confirmed then to them by the Promise the Queen had made to the Suffolk and Norfolk Gentry, who had rescued her out of the very jaws of Ruine. Fuller saith, that the Writing this Letter was put upon him with a design to ruine him, but there is not the least colour for this surmise; he being so very lately, seasonably and kindly chosen Orator when he was so injuriously expelled out of his own Colledge; but it is much more probable the sweetness, smoothness and briskness of his stile, was both the reason why he was chosen Orator first, and then employed to pen this Letter. The Sum or Heads of which are in Mr. Laurence Humfrey's Life of Jewel: But there is no entire Copy extant.

IT is observed by the last mentioned Author, that whilst *Jewel* was reading this Letter to Dr. *Tresham Vice-chancellor*, the great Bell of *Christ-Church* (which this Doctor having caused to be new run a few days before, had christened by the name of *Mary*, roll'd) and that hearing her pleasant voice now call him to his beloved *Mass*, he burst out into an Exclamation. O delicate and sweet *Harmony*! O beautiful *Mary*, how Musically she sounds, how strangely she pleaseth my Ears! So Mr. *Jewel's* sweet Pen was forced to give way to the more acceptable tinkling of this new Lady. And we may easily conjecture how the poor man took it.

BEING thus ejected out of all he had, he became obnoxious to the Insolence and Pride of all his Enemies, which he endeavoured to allay by Humility and Compliance, which yet could not mitigate their Rage and Fury; but rather in all probability heightened their Malice, and drew more Affronts upon the meek man. But amongst all his Enemies, none sought his ruine more eagerly than Dr. *Martial Dean* of *Christ-Church*, who had changed his Religion now twice already; and did afterwards twice or thrice more in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: He having neither Conscience nor Religion of his own, was wondrous desirous to make *Jewel's* Conscience or Life a papal Sacrifice.

Anno 1553.

IN order to this, he sends to *Jewel* by the Inquisitors a bed-roll of Popish Doctrines to be subscribed by him upon pain of Fire and Faggot, and other grievous Tortures; the poor man having neither Friend nor time allowed him to consult with, took the Pen in his hand, and saying, *Have you a mind to see how well I can write?* Subscribed his Name hastily, and with great reluctance.

But this no way mitigated the Rage of his Enemies against him, they knew his great love to, and familiarity with *Peter Martyr*, and nothing less than his Life would satisfy these Blood-hounds, of which Turn-coat *Martial* was the fiercest: so being forsaken by his Friends for this his sinful Compliance, and still pursued like a wounded *Deer* by his Enemies; but more exagitated by the inward Remorses and Reproaches of his own Conscience, he resolved at last to flee for his Life.

And it was but time; for if he had staid but one night longer, or gone the right way to *London*, he had perished by their Fury: One *Augustin Berner* a *Switzer*, first a Servant to Bishop *Latimer*; and afterwards a Minister found him lying upon the ground almost dead with vexation, weariness (for this lame Man was forced to make his escape on foot) and cold, and setting him upon an Horse, conveyed him to the Lady *Ann Warcupps* a Widow, who entertained him for some time, and then sent him up to *London*, where he was in more safety.

HAVING twice or thrice changed his Lodgings in *London*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* a great Minister of State in those times, furnished him with Money for his Journey, and procured him a Ship for his Transportation beyond the Seas. And well it had been if he had gone sooner; but his Friend Mr. *Parkhurst* hearing of the restoring of the Mass fled forthwith; and poor Mr. *Jewel* knowing nothing of it, went to *Cleave* to beg his advice and assistance, being almost killed by his long Journey on foot in bitter cold and snowy weather, and being forced at last to return to *Oxon*, more dejected and confounded in his thoughts than he went out; which Miseries were the occasions of his fall, as Gods Mercy was the procurer both of his escape and recovery.

FOR being once arrived at *Franckford* in the beginning of the second year of Queen *Mary's* Reign, he found there Mr. *Richard Chambers* his old Benefactor, Dr. *Robert Horne* afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *Sands* Bishop of *London*, Sir *Francis Knowles* a Privy Counsellor, and afterwards Lord Treasurer, and his eldest Son, &c. these received *Jewel* with the more kindness, because he came unexpectedly and unhopd for, and advised him to make a publick Recantation of his Subscription; which he willingly did in the Pulpit the next Lords-day in these words. *It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness.* Which when he had uttered as well as he could for tears and sighs, he applied

1554

b 3

himself

himself in a fervent Prayer, first to God Almighty for his Pardon, and afterwards to the Church; the whole Auditory accompanying him with Tears and Sighes, and ever after esteeming him more for his ingenuous Repentance, than they would (perhaps) have done if he had not fallen.

IT is an easie thing for those that were never tried, to censure the frailty of those that have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty Temptation; but let such remember St. Paul's advice, *Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.* This great Mans fall shall ever be my Lesson, and if this glistering Jewel were thus clouded and foil'd, *God be merciful to me a Sinner.*

Mr. JEWEL had not been long at *Frankford*, before *Peter Martyr* hearing of it, often solicited him to come to *Strasburgh*, where he was now settled and provided for; and all things considered, a wonder it is that he did not perish in *England*; For there was no Person more openly aimed at than he, because none of them had given wider Wounds than he to the Catholick Cause. One *Tresham* a Senior Canon of *Christ-Church*, who had held some Points against him at his first coming thither, now took the benefit of the times to be revenged on him, and incited those of *Christ-Church* and of other Houses to affront him publickly. So that not finding any safety at *Oxford*, he retired to *Lambeth* to *Cranmer*, where he was sure of as much as the place could afford him. A Consultation had been held by some of the more fiery Spirits, for his commitment unto Prison. But he came thither

Peter Martyr.

*Ecclesia Re-
staurata, p. 196*

thither (as was well known) on the publick Faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private Persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employment, and to license him to depart in peace: none being more forward to furnish him with all things for his going hence, than the new Lord Chancellor; Bishop Gardiner, whether in honour to his Learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned; but less humanity was shewed to him in his Wife, whose Body having been buried in the Church of St. Frideswide, was afterwards by publick order taken out of the Grave and buried in a common Dungehill. But in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth was removed and her bones mixed with St. Francis: And the truth is, the Queen (who was a bigotted Papist, and too much Priest-ridden) breaking not only her promise to the men of Suffolk, who had stood by her in her greatest necessity, and treating them with extreame severity for but challenging the performance of her promise; one Dobbe who had spoken more boldly than the rest, being ordered to stand three days in the Pillory; but also her more solemn engagement made the Twelfth of August 1553. in the Council; That altho her Conscience was staid in the Matters of Religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their Hearts, a perswasion of that truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word

Peter Martyr also helped himself, for he would not go without the Queens Passport and leave, and when he had it, concealed himself fourteen days on the English Coast, then privately took Ship and arrived at Antwerp in the night, and before day took Coach and so got safe to Straisbourg, the 30th of October 1553.

Burnet To. 2.
p. 245.
lb. p. 245.

to them, by Godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers: I say, considering how ill she kept her promise to her own Subjects, it is a wonder she should keep the Faith given to this Stranger in her Brothers Reign, and not by her; and I conceive no reason can be given for this, but the over-ruling Providence of God, who governs the hearts of Princes as he thinks fit.

BUT well it was for Mr. *Jewel* that there he was, and as much of Mr. *Jewel's* Sufferings in *England* had been occasion'd by his great respects he had shewn to *Peter Martyr* whilest he lived at *Oxon*: So now *Peter Martyr* never left soliciting him (as I said) to come to him to *Strasbourg* till he prevailed, where he took him to his own Table and kept him always with him. And here Mr. *Jewel* was very serviceable to him in his Edition of his Commentaries upon the Book of *Judges*, which were all transcribed for the Press by him; and he used also to read every day some part of a Father to him, and for the most part *St. Augustin*, with which Father they were both much delighted.

AT *Strasbourg* Mr. *Jewel* found *J. Poynt* late Bishop of *Winchester*, *Edmund Grindal* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Sir Edwin Sands*, *J. Cbeeke* and *Sir Anthony Coke* Kt. and several other great Men of the *English* Nation, who were fled thither for their Religion. And with these he was in great esteem, which open'd a way for his preferment upon his return into *England* after the Storm was over.

PETER Martyr having been a long time solicited by the Senate of Zurich to go thither and take upon him the place of Professor of Hebrew, and Interpreter of the Scriptures in the place of Conrad Pellican, who was almost the first Professor of Hebrew in Christendom, and died about this time near an hundred years of Age; at last accepted the Office, and carried Mr. Jewel with him July 13. 1556. to Zurich, where he lived still with Peter Martyr in his own Family. Here he found James Pilkinton Bishop of Durham, and several others who were maintained by the Procurement of Richard Chambers, but out of the Purfes of Mr. Richard Springham, Mr. John Abel, Mr. Thomas Eton Merchants of London, and several others; till at last Stephen Gardiner finding who were their Benefactors, threatned *he would in a short time make them eat their Fingers ends for hunger:* and it was fore against his will that he proved a false Prophet, for he clapt up so many of their Benefactors in England, that after this there came but a small if any Supply out of England to them. But then Christopher Prince of Wittenberg, and the Senators of Zurich, and the foreign Divines were so kind to them, that they had still a tolerable Subsistence, and Mr. Jewel stood in need of the less, because he lived with Peter Martyr till his return into England.

SO saith Mr. Humfrey in his Life; but it is Humfrey p. 90. apparent by the first lines of his Epistle to Seignior Scipio, that he studied some time at Padua, and there being no mention of his travelling at any time before his exile, nor indeed

indeed any possibility of it, I suppose that whilst he was thus with *Peter Martyr* at *Zurich*, he made a step over the *Alpes* to *Padua*, which was not very distant, and there studied some time, and contracted his acquaintance with the said *Venetian Gentleman*; for this Journey is nowhere mentioned by any other Author that I have seen, and I can find no time so likely for it as now.

DURING all the time of his exile, which was about four years, he studied very hard, and spent the rest of his time in consoling and confirming his Brethren; for he would frequently tell them that when their Brethren endured such bitter Tortures and horrible Martyrdoms at home, it was not reasonable they should expect to fare deliciously in Banishment, concluding always: *Hæc non durabunt ætatem. These things will not last an Age*. Which he repeated so very often, and with so great an assurance of mind that it would be so, that many believed it before it came to pass, and more took it for a Prophetick Sentence afterwards.

English life.

Dr. *Peter Heylyn* saith the contrary, and that *Wittingham*, *Williams*, and *Gordman* were *Zunglians* before they left *England*, who were the chief Promoters of the disorder at *Frankford*. *Ecclesia Restaurata*. p. 228.

When the *English* left their Native Country, they were all of a piece; but some of them going to *Geneva* and other places which had imbraced the model of Reformation settled by *Calvin*, they became fond of these foreign Novelties, and some of them at *Frankford*, in the year 1554. began an alteration of the Liturgy, and did what they could to draw others to them; and to these men *Knox* the great

great Intendiary of *Scotland* afterwards, joyn-
ed himself, and not long after one *Whitehead*
a zealous Calvinist, but of a much better tem-
per than *Knox*. Not contented with this al-
teration, the fifteenth of *November 1554*.
they writ Letters in open defiance of the
English Liturgy to them of *Zurick*, who de-
fended it in a Letter of the 28th of the same
month.

Grindal and *Chambers* were sent from *Stras-
burgh* to *Frankford* to quiet these Innovators,
but to no purpose; so returning back again,
the *English* at *Strasburgh* wrote to them the
thirteenth of *December*, all which procured
no other regard from them, but only to ob-
tain *Calvin's* judgment of it, which being
suitable to their own, as there was no won-
der it should; things continued thus till the
thirteenth of *March* following, when *Dr. Ri-
chard Cox* entered *Frankford*, drove *Knox* out,
and resettled the Liturgy there. Whereupon
in the end of *August* following, *Fox* with some
few others went to *Basil*, but the main body
followed *Knox* and *Goodman* to *Geneva* their
Mother City (as *Dr. Heylyn* stiles it) where
they made choice of *Knox* and *Goodman* for
their constant Preachers; under which Mi-
nistry they rejected the whole Frame and
Fabrick of the Reformation made in *England*
in King *Edward's* time, and conformed them-
selves wholly to the fashions of the Church of
Geneva, &c. Thus far *Dr. Heylyn*.

Mr. Jewel being then at *Zurick*, used his
utmost endeavour to reclaim these men, and
put a stop to this rising Schism; Exhorting
them

them as Brethren to lay aside all strife and emulation, especially about such small matters; least thereby they should greatly offend the minds of all good men: which thing (he said) they ought to have a principal care of. And doubtless this good man thought that their gratitude to God for restoring them to their Native Country under the auspicious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of Blessed Memory, had for ever put an end to this dispute, and he seems to speak as much in his *Apology for the Church of England*; but within a few years this fury broke loose again, and just about the time of *Jewel's* death, became more troublesome than ever before, and just about an hundred years after its rise, by a dismal Rebellion overturn'd at once the Church and Monarchy of *Great Britain*.

Conclusion,
Section 2.
P. 141.

BUT to return to Mr. *Jewel* and our Exiles; the seventeenth of *November 1558*. God remembered the distressed State of the Church of *England*, and put an end to her Sufferings, by removing that Bigotted Lady: the news of which flying speedily to our Exiles, they hasted into *England* again, to congratulate the Succession of Queen *Elizabeth* of ever Blessed Memory.

HIS good Benefactor and Tutor Mr. *Parkhurst*, upon the arrival of this news, made him a visit in *Germany*; but fearing Mr. *Jewel* had not chosen the safest way for his return to *England*, left him and went another way, which seeming more safe, in the end proved otherwise. Mr. *Jewel* arriving safely in *England* with what he had, whilst the other was

was robbed by the way; and so at his landing in England, Mr. Jewel (who was here before him) very gratefully relieved his great Benefactor.

Hiller. C. H.

THE time of Mr. Jewel's arrival in England, is no where expressed that I can find, but he being then at Zurich in all probability, was for that cause none of the first that returned; so that when he came back, he had the comfort to find all things well disposed, for the reception of the Reformation: for the Queen had by a Proclamation of the thirtieth of December 1558. ordered that no man, of what quality soever he were, should presume to alter any thing in the State of Religion, or innovate in any of the Rites and Ceremonies thereunto belonging, &c. until some further order should be taken therein. Only it was permitted, and withall required, that the Litany, the Lords-Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, should be said in the English Tongue, and that the Epistle and Gospel should be read in English at the time of the High Mass, which was done (saith Dr. Heylyn) in all the Churches of London, on the next Sunday after being New-Years-day; and by degrees in all the other Churches of the Kingdom: Further than this, she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present, only she prohibited the Elevation of the Sacrament at the Altar of the Chappel Royal: Which was likewise forbore in all other Churches: and she set at liberty all that had been imprisoned for Religion in her Sisters time, and ordered the Liturgy to be revised with great care, and that a Parliament should be summoned to sit at Westminster the 25th of January 1559.

The news of the Queens death came to Zurich the last of November. Mart. Letters.

ALL.

ALL this I suppose at least was done before Mr. *Jewel* returned into *England*; for whether he was here at the Coronation is uncertain. He was entertained first by Mr. *Nicholas Culverwell* for almost six months, and then falling into a Sicknes, was invited, by Dr. *William Thames*, to lodge at his House; but this was after the Parliament.

THE Liturgy being then reviewed, and whatever might give the Popish Party any unnecessary Exasperation or Discontent purged out, in order to the facilitating the passing an Act of Parliament for the settling it, and the establishment of other things that were necessary, a publick Disputation was appointed on the Thirtieth of *March* following, to be holden in the Church of *Westminster* in the *English* Tongue, in the presence of as many of the Lords of the Council, and of the Members of both Houses, as were desirous to inform themselves in the State of the Questions. The Disputation was also to be managed (for the better avoiding of Confusion) by a mutual interchange of Writings upon every Point; each Writing to be answered the next day, and so from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which the Bishops at first consented, tho they would not afterwards stand to it. The Questions were Three, concerning Prayers in the *Vulgar* Tongue, the Power of the Church, for the changing Rites and Ceremonies, and the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the *Mas* for the Living and the Dead.

THE first use that was made of Mr. Jewel after his return, was the nominating him one of the Disputants for the reformed Party; and tho he was the last in number and place, yet he was not the least either in desert or esteem, having made great Additions to his former Learning in his four years Exile and Travel : which is a great improvement to ingenious Spirits. But this Disputation was broken off by the Popish Party, who would not stand to the order appointed; so that Mr. Jewel in all probability had no occasion to shew either his Zeal or Learning.

THE Parliament ended the eighth of May 1559. and by virtue of an Act passed in this Parliament, soon after *Midsummer* the Queen made a Visitation of all the Diocesses in England, by Commissioners for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary Episcopal Power, without spending of more time than the Exigencies of the Church could then admit of. And this was done by a Book of Articles printed for that purpose, and the Inquiry was made upon Oath by the Commissioners. Here Mr. Jewel was taken in again, and made one of these Commissioners for the West. When he visited his own Native Country, which till then perhaps he had not seen since his return from Exile, when also he preached to and disputed with his Country-men, and indeavoured more to win them to imbrace the Reformation by good Usage, Civility and Reason, than to terrifie or awe them by that great Authority the Queen had armed him and his fellow Commissioners with.

1559.

R E-

RETURNING back to *London*, and giving the *Queen* a good and satisfactory account of their Visitation, the 21st of *January* following, Mr. *Jewel* who was then only Batchelor of Divinity, was consecrated Bishop of *Sarisbury*, which he at first modestly declined, but at last accepted, in obedience to the *Queens* command. This See had been void by the death of *John Capon* his immediate Predecessor, who died in the year 1557. now near three years. And here the Divine Providence again gave him the advantage in point of Seniority over his Tutor Mr. *John Parkhurst*, who was not consecrated Bishop of *Norwich* till the Fourteenth of *July* after; but then his Tutor had the advantage of him in point of Revenue, for Mr. *Jewel's* Bishoprick had been miserably impoverished by his Predecessor; so that he complained afterwards, that *there was never a good Living left him that would maintain a Learned Man; for* (said he) *the Capon has devoured all: because he hath either given away or sold all the Ecclesiastical Dignities and Livings.* So that the good Bishop was forced all his Life-time after to take extraordinary pains in travelling and preaching in all parts of his Diocese, which brought him to his Grave the sooner: whereas his Tutor had a much richer Bishoprick, and consequently more ease, and out-lived his Pupil *Jewel* three years.

March 30.

THE Sunday before *Easter* of this year, Bishop *Jewel* preached at *Paul's Cross*, his famous Sermon upon the 1 Cor. II. v. 25. *For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night*

night in which he was betrayed took Bread, &c.

This Sermon gave a fatal blow to the Popish Religion here in England, which was become very odious to all men, by reason of the barbarous Cruelty used by those of that Perswasion in the Reign of Queen Mary; but the Challenge which he then made, and afterwards several times and in several places repeated, was the most stinging part of this Sermon, and therefore tho I am concerned to be as short as I can, I will yet insert this Famous Piece at large.

IF any Learned Man of our Adversaries, Heylyn's Eccl. (said he) or all the Learned Men that be alive, Restituta. be able to bring any one sufficient Sentence out of P. 301. any old Catholick Doctor, or Father, or General Council, or Holy Scripture, or any one Example in the Primitive Church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved during the first six hundred years. 1. That there was at any time any private Masses in the World. 2. Or that there was then any Communion ministred unto the People under one kind. 3. Or that the People had their Common-Prayer in a strange Tongue that the People understood not. 4. Or that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal Bishop, or the Head of the universal Church. 5. Or that the People were then taught to believe that Christ's Body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the Sacrament. 6. Or that his Body is or may be in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. Or that the Priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his Head. 8. Or that the People did then fall down and worship it with Godly Honour. 9. Or that the Sacrament was then

then, or now ought to be, banged up under a Canopy. 10. Or that in the Sacrament after the words of Consecration, there remained only the accidents and shews without the substance of Bread and Wine. 11. Or, that then the Priests divided the Sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received himself alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the Sacrament is a Figure, a Pledge, a Token, or a remembrance of Christ's Body, had therefore been adjudged for an Heretic. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten or five Masses said in the same Church in one day. 14. Or that Images were then set up in the Churches, to the intent the People might worship them. 15. Or that the Lay-People were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own Tongue. 16. Or that it was then Lawful for the Priest to pronounce the words of Consecration closely, or in private to himself. 17. Or that the Priest had then Authority to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they do. 19. Or to apply the vertue of Christs Death and Passion to any Man by the means of the Mass. 20. Or that it was then thought a sound Doctrine to teach the People that Mass, *Ex opere operato* (that is, even for that it is said and done) is able to remove any part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called the Sacrament of the Lord, his God. 22. Or that the People were then taught to believe, that the Body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament, as long as the accidents of Bread and Wine remain there without Corruption. 23. Or that a Mouse or any other Worm or Beast, may eat the Body of Christ, (for so some of our Adversaries have said and taught.)

24. Or

24. Or that when Christ said, Hoc est Corpus meum, the word Hoc pointed not to the Bread, but to an individuum vagum, as some of them say. 25. Or that the Accidents, or Forms, or shews of Bread and Wine be the Sacraments of Christs Body and Blood, and not rather the very Bread and Wine it self. 26. Or that the Sacrament is a sign or token of the Body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it. 27. Or that ignorance is the Mother and cause of true Devotion. The Conclusion is, that I shall then be content to yield and subscribe.

This challenge (saith the Learned Dr. Heylyn) being thus published in so great an Auditory, startled the English Papists both at home and abroad, but none more than such of our Fugitives as had retired to *Lovain*, *Doway*, or *St. Omers*, in the Low-Country Provinces belonging to the King of Spain. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly Letters betwixt the said Reverend Prelate and Dr. Henry Cole the late Dean of *St. Pauls*; more violently followed in a Book of *Rastal's*, who first appeared in the Lists against the Challenger, followed herein by *Dorman* and *Marshall*, who severally took up the Cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by *Nowel*, and the last by *Calfhill*, in their Discourses writ against them; but they were only Velitations, or preparatory Skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the Reverend Challenger himself, and Dr. *John Harding*, one of the Divines of *Lovain*, and the most Learned of the Colledge. The

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This challenge (saith the Learned Dr. Heylyn) being thus published in so great an Auditory, startled the English Papists both at home and abroad, but none more than such of our E fugitives as had retired to *Louvain*, *Doway*, or *St. Omers*, in the Low-Country Provinces belonging to the King of Spain. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly Letters betwixt the said Reverend Prelate and Dr. Henry Cole the late Dean of *St. Pauls*; more violently followed in a Book of *Rastal's*, who first appeared in the Lists against the Challenger, followed herein by *Dorman* and *Marshall*, who severally took up the Cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by *Nowel*, and the last by *Calfhill*, in their Discourses writ against them; but they were only *Velitations*, or preparatory Skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the Reverend Challenger himself, and Dr. *John Harding*, one of the Divines of *Louvain*, and the most Learned of the Colledge. The

Rastal was a common Lawyer, and published his Book in 1563.

Combatants were born in the same County, bred up in the same Grammar School, and studied in the same University also:—Both zealous Protestants in the time of King *Edward*, and both relapsed to Popery in the time of Queen *Mary*; *Jewel* for fear, and *Harding* upon hope of Favour and Preferment by it. But *Jewel's* fall may be compared to that of St. *Peter*, which was short and sudden, rising again by his Repentance, and fortified more strongly in his Faith than before he was: but *Harding's* like to that of the other *Simon*, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again (so much was there within him of the gaul of bitterness) to his former standing. But some former Differences had been between them in the Church of *Salisbury*, whereof the one was Prebendary, and the other Bishop, occasioned by the Bishops visitation of that Cathedral; in which as *Harding* had the worst, so was it a Preface of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the Writings, by which it will appear how much the Bishop was too hard for him at all manner of Weapons. Whose learned Answers as well in maintenance of his Challenge, as in defence of his *Apology* (whereof more hereafter) contain in them such a Magazin of all sorts of Learning, that all our Controversors since that time, have furnished themselves with Arguments and Authority from it.

Harding was then Prebendary when Mr. *Jewel* was elected and gave his vote for him.
Humsf. p. 140.

THUS

THUS far that Learned man has discoursed the event of this famous Challenge with so much brevity and perspicuity, that I thought it better to transcribe his words, than to do it much worse my self.

WHEN Queen Mary died, Paul the Fourth was Pope, to whom Queen Elizabeth sent an account of her coming to the Crown, which was delivered by Sir Edward Karm her Sisters Resident at Rome; to which the angry Gentleman replied, *That England was held in Fee of the Apostolick See, that she could not succeed being illegitimate, nor could be contradict the Declarations made in that matter by his Predecessors Clement the Seventh, and Paul the Third: he said it was a great boldness in her, to assume the Crown without his Consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands; yet if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the dignity of the Apostolick See.* Which answer being hastily and passionately made, was as little regarded by the Queen. But he dying soon after, Pius the Fourth an abler man succeeded; and he was for gaining the Queen by Arts and Kindness; to which end he sent Vincent Parapalia Abbot of St. Saviours with courteous Letters to her, dated May the fifth 1560. with order to make large proffers to her under hand; but the Queen had rejected the Popes Authority by Act of Parliament, and would have nothing to do with Parapalia, nor would she suffer him to come into England. In the interim the Pope had resolved to renew the Council at

Dr. Burnett's
History of the
Reformation.
Tom. 2.

Trent, and in the next year sent Abbot *Martiningo* his Nuncio to the Queen, to invite her and her Bishops to the Council, and he accordingly came to *Bruxells*, and from thence sent over for leave to come into *England*: but tho *France* and *Spain* interceded for his Admission, yet the Queen stood firm, and at the same time rejected a motion from the Emperor *Ferdinando*, to return to the old Religion as he called it. Yet after all these denials given to so many and such potent Princes, one *Scipio* a Gentleman of *Venice*, who formerly had had some acquaintance with Bishop *Jewel* when he was a Student in *Padua*, and had heard of *Martiningo's* ill success in this Negotiation, would needs spend some Eloquence in labouring to obtain that Point by his private Letters, which the Nuncio could not gain as a publick Minister; and to that end he writes his Letters of Expostulation to Bishop *Jewel* his old Friend, preferred not long before to the See of *Sarisbury*. Which Letter did not long remain unanswered; that Learned Prelate (saith my Author) was not so unstudied in the nature of Councils, as not to know how little of a General Council could be found at *Trent*: And therefore he returned an answer to the proposition so elegantly penned, and so elaborately digested, that neither *Scipio* himself nor any other of that Party durst reply upon him. Which Letter the Reader will find in this small piece new translated. But this was written some time after the Apology was Printed in *England*.

Dr. Heylyn
Eccl. Rest.
P. 349.

IN the year following Bishop Jewel put out *The Apology of the Church of England in Latin*; which tho written by him, was published by the Queens Authority, and with the advice of some of the Bishops, as the Publick Confession of the Catholick and Christian Faith of the Church of *England, &c.* and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the See of *Rome*, and as an answer to those Calumnies that were then raised against the *English Church* and Nation, for not submitting to the pretended General Council of *Trent* then sitting.

1562.
Humfrey's in
the Life of
Jewel. p.177.
Peter Martyr's
Letter to Bi-
shop Jewel
concerning
this Book is
dated Aug. 24.
1562.

SO that it is not to be esteemed as the private work of a single Bishop, but as a publick Declaration of that Church whose name it bears. Mr. *Humfrey* seems in this place to confound this and the Epistle together, as if they had been written at the same time which it is apparent they were not.

THIS Apology being published during the very time of the last meeting of the Council of *Trent*, was read there, and seriously considered, and great threats made that it should be answered; and accordingly two Learned Bishops, one a *Spaniard* and the other an *Italian*, undertook that task, but neither of them did any thing in it.

BUT in the mean time the Book spread into all the Countries in *Europe*, and was much applauded in *France, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden* and *Scotland*; and found at least a passage into *Italy, Naples* and *Rome* it self; and was soon after translated into the *German, Italian, French,*

Spanish,

English Life.
Before his
Works. Hum-
frey. P. 234.

Page 187.

Heylyn. p. 328.

1562.
In the LXIII.
of his Age.

1564.

Spanish, Dutch, and last into the Greek Tongue; in so great esteem this Book was abroad: and at home it was translated into English by the Lady Bacon Wife to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the great Seal of England.

IT very well deserves the Character Mr. Humfrey has given of it, whose words are these. *It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an Illustration, and as it were a Paraphrase of the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith (or Creed) the second is a short and solid Confutation of whatever is objected against the Church; if the Order be considered, nothing can be better distributed; if the Perspicuity, nothing can be fuller of Light; if the Style, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more splendid; if the Arguments, nothing stronger.*

THE good Bishop was most encouraged to publish this Apology by Peter Martyr (as appears by Martyr's Letter of the 24th of August) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time in Exile. But Martyr only lived to see the Book which he so much longed for, dying at Zurich, on the twelfth day of November following, after he had paid his thanks for, and expressed his value of this piece in a Letter which is subjoyned to this Book in all the following Prints. And Mr. Camden also in his Annals expressly saith, this Apology was printed first in the year 1562.

In the year 1564. Mr. Harding put out a pretended Answer to Bishop Jewel's famous Challenge at Paul's Cross, mentioned above, to which in the year following the Bishop made a very learned Reply, the Epistle before which

which bears date at London the 27th of October of that year: the Bishop is said to have spent two years in that Piece. The same year the University of Oxon gave him (tho absent) the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect and Honour shewn him, who was so eminently employed then in the Service and defence of the Church.

HE had no sooner brought this to a Conclusion, but *Harding* was again upon him, and put out an *Antapology*, or answer to his *Apology for the Church of England*. A Defence of which the Bishop forthwith began, which he finished, as appears by his Epistle to Mr. *Harding* at the end of it, the 27th of October 1567.

THE next year after Mr. *Harding* put out another piece, which he entitled, *A detection of sundry foul Errors*, &c. which was a cavilling reply to some passages in his defence of the *Apology*, which not seeming to deserve an answer by it self; he answered rather by a Preface to a new Impression of his former Defence, which he finished the eleventh of December 1569. and dedicated his Works to the Queen; *Harding* having told the World that she was offended with Bishop *Jewel* for thus troubling the World.

THE same year Pope *Pius* the Fourth having published a Bull of Excommunication and Deprivation against the Queen, Bishop *Jewel* undertook the defence of his Sovereign, and wrote a learned Examination and Confutation of that Bull; which was published by *John Garbrand* an intimate acquaintance of his, together with a short Treatise of the Holy

1567.

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1570.

Holy Scriptures, both which, as he informs us, were delivered by the Bishop in his Cathedral Church in the year 1570.

1570:

BESIDES these he writ several other large pieces; as 1. a Paraphrastical Interpretation of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole year. 2ly. Diverse Treatises of the Sacraments and Exhortations to the Readers. 3ly. Expositions of the Lords Prayer, the Creed and Ten Commandments. And also 4ly. An Exposition upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*; the first of *St. Peter*, and both the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*; which I suppose were his Sermons: for he was of opinion that it was a better way of teaching, to go through with a Book, than to take here and there a Text; and that it gave the People a more clear and lasting knowledge.

Humfrey's,
p. 111.

April 5. 1571.

IN the beginning of the next year was a Parliament, and consequently a Convocation, when *Tho. Cartwright* and others of that Faction, having alarmed the Church by their Oppositions to the established Religion, it was thought fit to obviate their bold attempts, and thereupon command was given by the Arch-bishop, *That all such of the lower House of Convocation, who had not formerly subscribed unto the Articles of Religion agreed upon Anno 1562. should subscribe them now; or on their absolute refusal, or delay, be expelled the House;* Which occasioned a general and personal Subscription of those Articles. And it was also farther ordered, *That the Book of Articles so approved, should be put into Print, by the appointment of the Right Reverend Doctor John Jewel*

Jewel then Bishop of Sarum ; which shews he was there, and in great esteem.

IT was in some part of this year also, that he had his Conference, and preached his last Sermon at *Paul's Cross* about the Ceremonies and State of the Church, which he mentioned on his Death-bed. But I cannot fix the precise time of either of them, or give any further account with whom that Conference was. But however this Holy man sought nothing but the Peace and Welfare of the Church, by these gentle and mild ways of Correction : the Dissenters of those times treated him for it with as little respect as *Mr. Harding* and his Confraternity had before, as *Bishop Whitgift* assures us ; his words are these. *They (the Dissenters) will not stick (saith he) in commending themselves, to deface all others, yea even that notable JEWEL, whose both Labour and Learning they do envy ; and amongst themselves deprave, as I have heard with mine own ears, and a number more besides. For further proof whereof, I do refer you to the report, that by this faction was spread of him after his last Sermon at Paul's Cross, because he did confirm the Doctrine before preached by a famous and learned man touching obedience to the Prince and Laws. It was strange (saith he) to me, to hear so notable a Bishop, so learned a Man, so stout a Champion of true Religion, so painful a Prelate, so ungratefully and spitefully used by a sort of whining, wicked and wretched Tongues : but it is their manner, be you never so well learned, never so painful, so zealous, so vertuous, all is nothing with them, but they will de-*

deprave you, rail on you, back-bite you, invent lyes of you, and spread false rumours, as though you were the vilest Persons in the whole earth.

THUS writes that venerable Arch-bishop in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, p. 423. upon occasion of a Paper written also about this time by Bishop Jewel, upon certain frivolous Objections against the Government of the Church of England, made by Thomas Cartwright; which the Bishop had confuted, and Cartwright writing against him, Whitgift defended them in this place; and by the by shews how ill the good Bishop was treated for his last Sermon at Paul's Cross, by this generation of Vipers; which extorted from him that Protestation he made on his Death-bed, of which I shall give an account hereafter.

BEING naturally of a spare and thin Body, and thus restlessly trashing it out with reading, writing, preaching and travelling, he hastened his death, which happened before he was full fifty years of Age; of which he had a strange Perception a considerable time before it happened, and wrote of it to several of his Friends, but would by no means be perswaded to abate any thing of his former excessive Labours, saying, *A Bishop should die preaching.*

THO he ever governed his Diocess with great diligence, yet perceiving his death approaching, he began a new and more severe Visitation of it; correcting the Vices of the Clergy and Laity more sharply; injoyning them in some places tasks of Holy Tracts to be learned by heart, conferring Orders more carefully, and preaching oftener.

HAVING promised to preach at *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*, a Gentleman who met him going thither, observing him to be very ill by his looks, advised him to return home, assuring him it was better the People should want one Sermon, than to be altogether deprived of such a Preacher. But he would not be perswaded, but went thither and preached his last Sermon out of the fifth to the *Galat. Walk in the Spirit, &c.* which he did not finish without great labour and difficulty.

THE Saturday following being the 22d. of September 1571. he piously and devoutly rendered up his Soul into the Hands of God, having first made a very devout and Christian Exhortation to those that were about him, and expressing much dislike of one of his Servants who prayed for his Recovery. He died at *Monkton farly*, when he had been a Bishop almost twelve years; and was buried almost in the middle of the Quire of his Cathedral Church, and *Agidius Larbrece* preached his Funeral Sermon. He was extreamly bewailed by all men; and a great number of *Latin, Greek and Hebrew Verses* were made on this occasion by learned men, which are collected and printed by Mr. *Lawrence Humfrey* Regius Professor of Divinity at *Oxon*, in the end of his Life written in *Latin* by the order of that University; nor has his name been since mentioned by any Man, without such Elogies and Commendations as befitted so great, so good, so learned and laborious a Prelate.

HAVING thus brought him to his Grave, my Reader may be pleased to permit me to collect

Memory.

collect some particular things which could not so well be inserted into the History of his Life, without breaking the thread of it.

HE had naturally a very strong Memory, which he had strangely improved by Art. Mr. *Humfrey* gives several Examples of this, but I will instance in two only, *John Hooper* Bishop of *Glocester*, who was burnt in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, once to try him, writ about forty *Welsh* and *Irish* words; Mr. *Jewel* going a little while aside, and recollecting them in his Memory, and reading them twice or thrice over, said them by heart backward and forward exactly in the same order they were set down. And another time he did the same by ten Lines of *Erasmus* his Paraphrase in *English*, the words of which being read sometimes confusedly without order, and at other times in order by the Lord Keeper *Bacon*, Mr. *Jewel* thinking a while on them, presently repeated them again backward and forward, in their right order and in the wrong, just as they were read to him; and he taught his Tutor Mr. *Parkhurst* the same Art.

Industry.

Common
place Books.

THO his Memory were so great and so improved, yet he would not intirely rely upon it, but entered down into Common place Books, whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the Author of his Life informs us, were many in number, and great in quantity, being a vast Treasure of Learning, and a rich Repository of Knowledge, into which he had collected Sacred, Profane, Poetick, Philosophick and Divine Notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece

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or two, which were a kind of General Indexes, which he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; which were drawn up in Characters for brevity, and thereby so obscured, that they were not of any use, after his Death, to any other person. And besides these, he ever kept Diaries, in which he entered whatever he heard or saw that was remarkable; which once a year he perused, and out of them extracted what ever was more remarkable. Diaries.

AND from hence it came to pass, that when Mr. Harding in that great Controversie they had, abounded only in Words, Bishop Jewel overwhelm'd him with a cloud of Witnesses and Citations out of the ancient Fathers, Councils, and Church Historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable Authorities, that Mr. Harding durst never after pretend to a second perfect and full Answer, but contented himself with snarling at some small pieces: the truth is, as Dr. Heylyn observes, all the following Controversies were in this point beholding to the indefatigable Industry of this great Leader.

YET he was so careful in the use of his own Common place Books, that when he was to write his Defence of the *Apology*, and his *Reply*, he would not trust intirely to his own Excerpts or Transcriptions, but having first carefully read Mr. Hardings Books, and marked what he thought deserved an Answer, he in the next place drew up the Heads of his intended Answer, and resolved what Authorities he would make use of upon each Head, and

and then by the Directions of his Common place Book, read and marked all those Passages he had occasion to make use of, and delivered them to some Scholars to be transcribed under their proper Heads, that he might have them together under his Eye, when he came to write; which Care and Diligence of his speaks at once both his Industry, Fidelity, and Modesty, in that he would not trust his own Transcripts, and is a just reprehension of the Falshood of those who knowingly make false Citations, and of the supine negligence of those who take them up upon trust from other men, and use them without any Examination; by which means great Mistakes are made, and Controversies spring up to the Disturbance of the World. The truth is, a man ought to re-examine his own Thoughts, for what may seem very pertinent at a first reading to any purpose, may prove otherwise upon second thoughts, and a close Observation of what goes before, or follows after in the Author; and few men are so exact in their first Excerpts, but thro' Hast, Inadvertence or Mistake, they may more or less err and be deceived; not to say that a mans Intention of Mind is much exalted by the fixing it upon one particular Object, and the expectation of a Conviction from his Adversary, in case he make the least Mistake. This Account of our venerable Bishop was given by one Mr. *John Garbrand*, who was intimately acquainted with him, in an Epistle Dedicatory before some of his Sermons, printed in Octavo, in the year 1583.

HE was an excellent *Grecian*, and not Languages. unacquainted with the *Italian* Tongue, and as to the *Latin*, he wrote and spoke it with that elegance, politeness, purity and fluency, that it might very well be taken for his Mother Tongue; and certainly he took the right course to be Master of it, having made himself in his youth, perfectly Master of *Horace* (upon whom he writ a large Comentary) *Tully* and *Erasmus*, all whose voluminous and excellent Works he read over, excerpted and imitated every day he lived, especially during his continuance at *Oxon*, and he was then, wont also to declaim, *extempore* to himself in *Latin* in the Woods and Groves as he walked.

AND when the *Lady Bacon* wrote him a Letter in *Greek*, he replied in the same Language. He was excellently read in all the *Greek* Poets, Orators and Historians, especially in the Ecclesiastical Historians, and above all other, loved *Gregory Nazianzen*, and quoted him all on occasions. His *Greek* Learning.

His Learning was much improved by his Travail. Exile, in which, besides his Conversation with *Peter Martyr* and the other learned men at *Strasburgh* and *Zurick*, and his Society with *Mr. Sands*, afterwards Arch-bishop of *York*, who was his Bedfellow almost all the time they were in exile, his Curiosity led him over the *Alps* into *Italy*, and he studied some time in *Padua*, and by the Acquaintance he contracted with *Seignior Scipio* a great man, seems to have been very much esteemed there.

His Humour.

HE was of a pleasant debonair Humour, extreemly civil and obliging to all; but with all of great Gravity, and of so severe a Probity and Virtue, that he extorted from his bitterest Enemies a Confession, that he lived the Life of an Angel; and tho he were lame, yet till his being a Bishop, he travailed for the most part a-foot, both at home and beyond the Seas; he was contented in every condition, and endeavoured to make all others so, by telling them when he was in exile, that neither would their Calamity last an Age, neither was it reason they should bear no share of the Cross of Christ, when their Brethren in *England* fared so much worse.

Gratitude.

HE was so extream grateful to all that had done him good, that when he could not express his Gratitude to Mr. *Bowin* his Schoolmaster, he paid it to his Name, and did good to all that were so call'd for his sake, tho they were not related to that good man.

Preaching;

HE was a most laborious Preacher, always travelling about his Diocess, and preaching where-ever he came; wherein he laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the People, hating all light gingling Discourses and Phrases, as beneath the Dignity of that sacred Place, yet he was careful here too in the Choice of his Words, and endeavoured to move the Affections of his Auditory by pathetick and zealous Applications, avoiding all high-flown Expressions, and using a grave and sedate, rather than sweet way of speaking, and never venturing in the meanest Auditory to preach *extempore*.

Page III.
No friend to
the Dissenters.

Mr. *Humfrys*, who was himself a *Calvenist*, (as Mr. *Camden* informs us in his *Annals*,) has done what he could to represent Bishop *Jewell* as a favourer of our *English* Dissenters; but it is certain he opposed them in his Exile, when they began the Stirs at *Frankford*; and the last publick Act he did in all his Life, was to reprehend them severely, in a Sermon preached at *Pauls Cross*, which I take to be the last Sermon, printed in the Collection of his Works in 1609; and to defend the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church against them; both which he mentioned on his Death-bed in these words. *My last Sermon at Pauls Cross in London, and the Conference I held with some Brethren concerning the Ceremonies and present State of our Church, was not undertaken to please any Mortal man, or to exasperate or trouble those that thought otherwise than I did; but lest either Party should prejudice the other, and that the love of God through the operation of the Holy Ghost which is given to us, might be shed abroad in our hearts.* To which he wisely subjoyns his opinion, that these Contentions were kindled and fomented by the Popish Party; as is well known now. The truth is, the Schism was then in its Rise, and those great Impostors *Coleman, Button, and Hallingham*, which were nothing but Popish Priests in the Masquerade of Puritan Preachers, being severely corrected in the year 1568, there was no great motion made by that Party, till the Parliament held in the Thirteenth year of the Queen, April 2. 1570. had confirmed the Articles of the Church by Act of Parliament; and Subscription thereupon, being more severely

The Preface
to the first
Tom. of Coll.
by Dr. *Nalson*.

Chap. 12.

Fuller's C. H. lib. 9. Sect. 3. n. 3. urged than before, many Dissenters kept their private Meetings in Woods, Fields, their Friends Houses, &c. as Fuller from Tho. Cartwright's second Reply, p. 38. informs us. These disorders in all probability occasioned the Sermon at Paul's Cross, and the Conference at London, which happened not long before his death, and probably after this Session of Parliament, which the Bishop survived but six months. So that if the Bishop did rarely and unwillingly preach any thing concerning the Rites and indifferent parts or Circumstances of Religion, as our Author tells us, it was because he had no great occasions given him: but what he thought of these men, will best appear from the Sermon I mentioned above; his words are these. *By whose name shall I call you? I would I might call you Brethren: But alas this heart of yours is not Brotherly; I would I might call you Christians: But alas you are no Christians, I know not by what name I shall call you: For if you were Brethren, you would love as Brethren: If you were Christians, you would agree as Christians.* So that he could have no good opinion of those whom he every where in that Sermon styles proud, self-conceited, disobedient, and unquiet men, who did not deserve the title of *Brethren or Christians*. What would he have said if he had lived in our days?

In a short Paper written by this good Bishop against certain frivolous objections made against the Government of the Church of England. Printed at London 1641. Bishop Whitgift in the defence of the Answer to the Admonition, tells us, Cartwright was the man; and that hereupon the Faction used the Bishop most ungraciously and despitefully, p. 423.

BESIDES confuting some of the Seditious Doctrines of Thomas Cartwright, who became famous by his *Admonition* to the Parliament; in the year following the Bishop said,

Stul-

Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, & virga disciplinae fugabit illam. Which shews he was no encourager of Faction by Lenity and Toleration; tho he was a man of great moderation otherwise, and expressed a great sense of the Frailties of Mankind in other Instances; as appears by his Letter to Dr. Parkhurst when Bishop of Norwich. *Let your Chancellor (saith he) be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him Lance, do you Plaister; wise Clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an Engine, than six with the force of their hands.* And accordingly he would often sit in his own Consistory with his Chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining Causes concerning Matrimony, Adultery, and Testaments, &c. not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his Chancellor and Officials. But tho as a Justice of Peace he often sat in the Courts of Quarter-Sessions, yet here he very rarely interposed, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruple of Religion, or some other such-like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

THO he came to a Bishoprick miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found Means to exercise a prodigious Liberality and Hospitality. For the first, his great Expence in the building a fair Library for his Cathedral Church, may be an instance which his Successor Dr. Gheast furnished with Books, whose name is perpetuated, together with the Memory of his Predecessor by this Inscription.

Liberality.

Fuller's C. H.
lib. 9. Sect. 3.
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Hanfrey's.

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BESIDES confuting some of the Seditious Doctrines of Thomas Cartwright, who became famous by his *Admonition* to the Parliament; in the year following the Bishop said,

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Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, & virga disciplinae fugabit illam. Which shews he was no encourager of Faction by Lenity and Toleration; tho he was a man of great moderation otherwise, and expressed a great sense of the Frailties of Mankind in other Instances; as appears by his Letter to Dr. Parkhurst when Bishop of Norwich. *Let your Chancellor (saith he) be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him Lance, do you Plaister; wise Clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an Engine, than six with the force of their hands.* And accordingly he would often sit in his own Consistory with his Chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining Causes concerning Matrimony, Adultery, and Testaments, &c. not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his Chancellor and Officials. But tho as a *Justice of Peace* he often sat in the Courts of Quarter-Sessions, yet here he very rarely interposed, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruple of Religion, or some other such-like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

THO he came to a Bishoprick miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found Means to exercise a prodigious Liberality and Hospitality. For the first, his great Expence in the building a fair Library for his Cathedral Church, may be an instance which his Successor Dr. Gheast furnished with Books, whose name is perpetuated, together with the Memory of his Predecessor by this Inscription.

Hæc Bibliotheca extracta est sumptibus. R. P. ac D. D. JOHANNIS FEWELLI, quondam Sarum Episcopi; instructa vero libris à R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo, quorum memoria in Benedictione erit A. D. 1578.

Charity.

HIS Doors stood always open to the Poor, and he would frequently send his charitable Reliefs to Prisoners, nor did he confine his Bounty to *English* men only, but was liberal to Foreigners, and especially to those of *Zurich*, and the Friends of *Peter Martyr*.

BUT perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his House half a dozen or more poor Lads which he brought up in Learning; and took much delight to hear them dispute Points of Grammar-learning in *Latin* at his Table when he was at his Meal, improving them, and pleasing himself at the same time.

Mr. Hooker.

Dr. Walton in
Mr. Hooker's
Life.

AND besides these, he maintained in the University several young Students, allowing them yearly Pensions; and when ever they came to visit him, rarely dismissed them without liberal Gratuities. Amongst these was the famous Mr. *Richard Hooker* his Country-man, whose Parents being Poor, must have been bound Apprentice to a Trade, but for the Bounty of this good Bishop, who allowed his Parents a yearly Pension towards his maintenance well near seven years before he was fit for the University, and in the year 1567. appointed him to remove to *Oxford*, and there to attend Dr. *Cole* then President of *Corpus Christi* Colledge, who according to his Promise

Bishop Jewel.

47

Promise to the Bishop, provided him a Tutor, and a Clerks place in that Colledge; which with a Contribution from his Uncle Mr. *John Hooker*, and the continued Pension of his Patron the Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence; and in the last year of the Bishops Life, Mr. *Hooker* making this his Patron a visit at his Palace, the good Bishop made him, and a Companion he had with him, dine at his own Table with him, which Mr. *Hooker* boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his Mother and Friends, whither he was then travelling a Foot. The Bishop when he parted with him, gave him good Counsel and his Blessing, but forgot to give him Money, which when the Bishop bethought himself of, he sent a Servant to call him back again, and then told him, *I sent for you Richard, to lend you a Horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease. And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of Germany; and then went on and said, Richard, I do not give but lend you my Horse; be sure you be honest and bring my Horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford; and I do now give you ten Groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten Groats more which I charge you to deliver to your Mother, and tell her, I send her a Bishops Blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her Prayers for me. And if you bring my Horse back to me, I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to the College; and so God bless you good Richard.* It was not long after this, before this good Bishop died, but before his death he had so effectually recommended 4 mended

mended Mr. *Hooker* to *Edwin Sandys* then Bishop of *London*, and after Arch-bishop of *York*, that about a year after he put his Son under the Tutelage of Mr. *Hooker*, and was otherwise so liberal to him, that he became one of the learnedest men of the Age; and as Bishop *Jewel* foild the Papiſts, ſo this Mr. *Hooker* in his Books of *Ecclesiastical Polity*, gave the *Dissenters* ſuch a fatal Deſeat, as they never yet could, nor ever ſhall be able to recover from. Nor was Mr. *Hooker* ungrateful, but having occaſion to mention his good Benefactor in that Piece he calls him (Bishop *Jewel*) the worthieſt Divine that Chriſtendom hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of years.

Lib. 2. §. 5.

BUT to return to Bishop *Jewel*, he had collected an excellent Library of Books of all ſorts, not excepting the moſt impertinent of the Popiſh Authors; and here it was that he ſpent the greateſt and the beſt part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, eſpecially in a Morning till eight of the Clock; ſo that till that time it was not eaſie to ſpeak with him; when commonly he eat ſome ſlight thing for the ſupport of his thin Body; and then, if no Buſineſs diverted him, retired to his Study again till *Dinner*.

HE maintained a plentiful, but ſober Table, and tho at it he eat very little himſelf, yet he took care his Gueſts might be well ſupplied, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleaſant and uſeful Diſcourſe, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting Stories: for tho he was a man of a great and exact, both Piety and Virtue, yet he

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he was not of a morose, sullen, unfociable Temper, and this his Hospitality was equally bestowed upon both Foreigners and English men.

AFTER Dinner he heard Causes, if any came in; and dispatched any Business that belonged to him (tho he would sometimes do it at Dinner too;) and answered any Questions, and very often arbitrated and composed Differences betwixt his People, who knowing his great Wisdom and Integrity, did very often refer themselves to him as the sole Arbitrator, where they met with speedy, impartial, and unchargeable Justice.

AT nine at night he call'd all his Servants about him, examin'd how they had spent their time that day, commended some, and reproved others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with Prayers, as he began it: the time of his publick Morning Prayers seems to have been eight.

AFTER this, he commonly went to his Study again, and from thence to Bed, his Gentlemen reading some part of an Author to him, to compose his Mind, and then committing himself to his God and Saviour, he betook himself to his Rest.

HE was extream careful of the Revenues of the Church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from impoverishing in an Age, when the greatest men finding the Queen not over liberal to her Courtiers and Servants, too often paid themselves out of the Church Patrimony, for the Services they had done the Crown, till they ruin'd some Bishopricks intirely, and left others
so

so very poor, that they are scarce able to maintain a Prelate.

THERE is one instance of this mentioned by all that have written our Bishops Life; a Courtier (who was a Lay-man) having obtained a Prebendary in the Church of *Sarisbury*, and intending to lett it to another Lay-person for his best Advantage, acquainted Bishop *Jewel* with the Conditions between them; and some Lawyers opinion about them. To which the Bishop replied; *What your Lawyers may answer I know not; but for my part, to my Power, I will take care that my Church shall sustain no loss whilst I live.* What was the event of this, none of them have told us.

NOR was he careful of his own Church only, but of the whole *English Church*, as appears by his Sermon upon *Psalms 69. v. 9. The Zeal of thine House hath eaten me up.* Which he preached before the Queen and Court, as appears by it in several Addresses to her in the body of that Sermon. In it he hath this observation. *In other Countries. the receiving of the Gospel hath always been the cause that Learning was more set by; and Learning hath ever been the furtherance of the Gospel. In England, I know not how it cometh otherwise to pass, for since the Gospel hath been received, the maintenance for Learning hath been decayed; and the lack of Learning will be the decay of the Gospel.* And a little after he tells us, *Those that should be fosters of Learning, and increase the Livings, had no Zeal.* What said I, increase? *Nay the Livings and Provisions which heretofore were given to this use, are (saith he) taken away.* And a little after, *Whereas all other Labourers and Artificers have their*

their hire encreased double, as much as it was wont to be; only the poor man that laboureth and sweateth in the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts, hath his hire abridged and abated. And he applies himself towards the Conclusion thus to the great men. You enriched them which mocked and blinded and devoured you; spoil not them now that feed and instruct and comfort you.

I had not taken the pains to transcribe so much of this excellent Discourse, which may easily enough be read by any that desire it in his Works, but to raise a little consideration if it be possible, in this debauched Age. This good man foretold here, that this Sacrilegious Devastation of the Church would in time be the ruine of the Gospel, as he calls the Reformation, and so it came to pass: for whereas he observed then, that *by reason of the Impropriations, the Vicarages in many places, and in the properest Market Towns were so simple, that no man could live upon them, and therefore no Man would take them, but the People were forced to provide themselves as they might with their own Money;* the Consequence of this in a few years was, that these mercenary men becoming Factious, or being such, crept into such places out of hopes of the greater advantage; and so infected the minds of the Trades-men, that as the Church became very much weakened and disquieted by their Factions; so our Parliaments in a little while became stufte with a sort of Lay-Brethren who were Enemies both to the Church and Crown, which was a great part of the occasion of the Rebellion in 1640. in which many of those Families whose Ancestors had risen by the Spoils of the Church were

were ruined : and tho much care was taken upon the Restitution of his late Majesty *Charles* the Second, for the prevention of such Mischiefs for the future, yet no care was taken of these Livings in Market Towns and Corporations ; by which means it came to pass, that within about twenty years more, we were very fairly disposed for another change, and nothing but God prevented it. From whence I conclude, that till this leak is stopped, both Church and Crown will be in danger of a Shipwrack.

There is fixed upon the Bishops Grave-stone, a Plate of Brass with the Arms of his Family, and this following Inscription.

D.

Iohanni Jewello Anglo Devoniensi ex Antiqua Juellorum familia Budenæ Oriundo, Academia Oxoniensis Laudatissimo Alumno: Mariana tempestate per Germaniam Exuli, Præsuli Regnante Elizabetha Regina Sarisburiensis Dioceseos (cui per Annos XI. Menses IX. Summa fide & integritate præsuit) Religiosissimo: Imniaturo lato Monkton-farlee præcepto XXIII. Sept. Anno salutis humane Christi Merito Restitutæ 1571. & Aetatis suæ 49. Positum est Observantiæ ergo hoc Monumentum.

This

This Epitaph was drawn for him by Mr. Humfrey, and much more; which in probability could not be all put upon the Brass: But yet he took care to publish it at large in his Life of the Bishop, from whence I have transcribed it, which is in these words.

D.

*Joanni Juello Anglo, Devonienſi
Ex antiqua Juellorum Familia Budenæ oriundo,
Academiæ Oxoniensis Laudatiſſimo Alumno:
Marianæ Tempeſtate per Germaniam Exuli.*

Præſuli

Regnante Elizabetha Regina,

• Sarisburiensis Diœceſeos.

*(Cui per Annos XI. meſes IX. ſumma fide
& integritate præſuit.)*

Religioſiſſimo, viro ſingulari eruditione,

Ingenio Acutiſſimo, judicio graviſſimo,

Pietate, Humanitate egregie

Prædito,

Theologiæ cum primis cognitione

Inſtructiſſimo;

Gemmæ Gemmarum

Immature fato Monkton-ſarlee Prærepto,

Sariſburie Sepulſo.

Cælorum civi.

Laurentius Humfredus

Hoc Monumentum obſervantiæ ergo

Et Benevolentiæ Conſecravit,

Anno ſalutis Humanæ

Chriſti Merito Reſtitutæ

M D LXXIII. ix. Kal. Oâ.

Vixit Annos XLIX. meſes IV.

Pſal. 112.

In memoria æterna erit Juſtus.

A

A Letter written to the Reverend Father
in God Dr. John Jewel Lord Bishop of
Sarisbury, by Dr. Peter Martyr.

By the favour of the Bishop of London (most worthy Prelate and my very good Lord) there was brought me one of your Apologies for the Church of England; which neither I nor any others hereabouts before had seen: It is true in your last Letter you rather intimated that it might come out, than signified that it should; but however it came not hither till about the middle of July. And from hence your Lordship may consider how much we suffer from the distance of places. It hath not only given me an intire satisfaction, who approve and am strangely pleased with all you do; but to Bullinger and his Sons, and Sons in Law: And it seems so very wise, admirable and elegant to Gualter and Wolphius, that they can put no end to their Commendations of it, as not thinking there hath been any thing printed in these times of so great a Perfection. I do infinitely congratulate this great felicity of your Parts, this excellent Edification of the Church, and the Honour you have done your Country: and I do most earnestly beseech you to go on in the same way; for tho we have a good Cause, yet the Defenders of it are few in comparison of its Enemies; and they now seem so awakened, that they have of late won much upon the ignorant Multitude, by the goodness of their Stile, and the subtilty of their Sophistry. I speak this of Staphylus and Hosius,

Bishop Jewel.

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Hosius, and some other Writers of that Party, who are now the stout Champions of the Papal Errors. But now you have by this your most elegant and learned Apology, raised such an hope in the minds of all good and learned men, that they generally promise themselves, that whilst you live, the reformed Religion shall never want an Advocate against its Enemies. And truly I am extremely glad, that I am so happy as to live to see that day which made you the Father of so illustrious and eloquent a Production. May the God of Heaven of his goodness grant that you may be blessed in time with many more such.

Zurick, Aug. 24.

1562.

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The Reader is desired to amend these few Errata's with his Pen, the rest being generally nothing but literal mistakes, are left to his Candor.

PReface to the Reader, Page 14. Line 19. for *to his Envoy*, read *by his Envoy*. Apology p. 10. for *Sardus* r. *Sardis*. p. 12. l. 22. for *last* r. *late*. p. 66. l. 5. r. *and because the Gospel*. p. 76. l. 3. for *or* r. *for*. p. 140. l. 13, & 14. for *security* r. *severity*. p. 151. in the Marginal note for *August 1560*. r. *1562*.

THE
APOLOGY
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND.

Written by the very Learned and
Reverend Father in God *John*
Jewell, Bishop of Sarisburi.

CHAP. I.

*Of the true Religion professed in the Church
of England, with a short Account of the
Opposition the Truth and true Religion
bath met with in all Ages.*

IT is an old Complaint deriv'd down Truth ever
to us from the very times of the persecuted;
Patriarchs and Prophets, and con-
firm'd by the Evidence of all Hi-
stories, and the Testimonies of all Ages, that
Truth is a Stranger upon Earth, and doth *Tertul. in Apo-*
too easily find Enemies and Defamers, be- *logia;*
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cause she is not known : and although this may seem perhaps incredible to those who have not attentively reflected on it, because Mankind, by the instinct of Nature, without any Teacher, doth spontaneously breathe after *Truth*; and Christ himself our Saviour, whilst he convers'd with Men, chose to be call'd the **TRUTH**, as if that Name did aptly express all the Power and Force of his Divine Nature : yet we who are acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and have read and considered what hath happen'd to pious men in almost all Ages, what beset the Prophets, the Apostles, the holy Martyrs, and Christ himself ; with what Slanders, Curses, and Injuries they were vexed whilst they lived, only for the sake of *Truth*. We (*I say*) see by this, that it is no new thing, but usual, and the Custom of all Ages. Indeed it would appear much more wonderful and incredible, if the Father of Lyes, the Devil, that Enemy of all Truth, should now of a sudden change his Mind, and entertain any other hopes of oppressing the Truth than by Lyes ; or should now begin to establish his Kingdom by other Arts than those he hath hitherto employed : For in all Ages we shall scarce find any Period of time in which Religion encreased, established it self, or was reform'd, but that at the same time Truth and Innocence were most unworthily and most injuriously treated by men ; for the Devil knows very well, that if *Truth* doth flourish in safety, his Affairs can neither be safe nor prosperous.

Church of ENGLAND.

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2. FOR to speak nothing of the Ancient Patriarchs and Prophets, no part of whose Lives (as I said) was free from Reproaches and Slanders. We know that of Old there were some who averr'd and publicly told the World, that the Ancient *Jews*, who we doubt not worshipp'd the only true God, perform'd their Religious Rites to a Swine or an Ass, and that all that Religion was a meer Sacrilege and a Contempt of all Deities. We know that the Son of God our Saviour Jesus Christ, whilest he taught the truth, was reputed an Impostor, an Inchanter, a *Samaritan*, a *Beelzebub*, a Deluder of the people; a Wine-bibber and a Glutton. Who knows not what was said of St. *Paul*, that powerful Preacher and Assertor of *Truth*, sometimes he was a seditious man, and list'd Soldiers, and designed a Rebellion; and at other times, that he was an Heretick, a mad man; that out of a contentious and perverse Disposition, he was a Blasphemer against the Law of God, and a Despiser of the Customs of the Fathers? Who knows not that so soon as ever St. *Stephen* had admitted the Truth, and suffered it to take Possession of his Soul, and thereupon (as he ought) began freely and stoutly to preach and own it, he was immediately call'd in question for his Life, as one that had spoken Blasphemy against the Law, against *Moses*, against the Temple and God? or knows not that the Holy Scriptures have been accused of Vanity and Folly, upon pretence that they contain'd things contrary and repugnant one to another, and that all the Apostles of Jesus Christ disagreed amongst

Cor. Tacitus.
Tertul. in Apo-
log. c. 7. c. Pli-
nus.

John 8. 9. 10:
Mar. 11.

Marcion, ex
Tertulliano.
Ælius, e
Laſtan.

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Tertul. Apolog.
c. 2, 3. and 7.
8, 9.

themselves, and that *St. Paul* differed from all the rest? And that I may not trouble you with all the Instances of this nature which are upon Record (for they are infinite) who knows not what Slanders were of old raised against our Forefathers, who first imbraced and professed the Name of *Christ*; that they conspired amongst themselves against the Government, and for that purpose, met very early, whilst it was yet dark; that they murdered Male-Infants, gorged themselves with Mans Flesh, and in a barbarous manner drank humane Blood; and at last, putting out the Candles, perpetrated Incests and Adulteries; and that Brothers lay with their Sisters, and Sons with their Mothers, without any reverence to their Bloods and Families, without Difference or Modesty; that they were impious, destitute of all Religion, Atheists, the Enemies of all Mankind, and unworthy of the Light or Life.

Tertul. Apolog.
cap. 5.

3. THESE things were spoken against the *Jews*, the People of God, against *Christ Jesus*, against *St. Paul*, *St. Stephen*, and against all those who in the first Ages imbraced the truth of the Gospel, and were called *Christians*, a Name then hated by the *Many*. And although none of these things were true, yet the *Devil* thought it sufficient to his Purpose if they were believed true; that so the Christians might incur the publick Hatred, and be pursued by all to Ruine and Destruction. And thus Kings and Princes being deceived, slew all the Prophets of God to a Man, they condemn'd *Isaiab* to the Saw, *Jeremia* to be ston'd, *Daniel* to the Lions.

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ons, *Amos* to the Iron Bar, *Paul* to the Sword, and *Christ* to the Cross, and all Christians to Prisons, to Racks, to Crosses, to Rocks and Precipices, to wild Beasts and Fires, and burnt whole Piles of their living Bodies for nocturnal Lights, and by way of Sport and Recreation; and never esteem'd them better than the most vile Filth of the Earth, the Off-scourings and Scorn of the World; thus the first Authors and Professors of the Truth, were ever treated.

Sueton. in Nerone. Juvenal. Sat.

4 WHEREFORE all we who have now undertaken the Profession of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, ought to bear it with the less disturbance of Mind, if in the same Cause, we are treated after the same manner; and as heretofore our Fathers, so we in this Age, are persecuted also with Reproaches, Slanders and Lyes, only because we teach and profess the Truth.

1 Tim. 4.

5. THEY roar out in all Places, that we are Hereticks, that we have forsaken the true Faith, and broken the Union of the Church with new Opinions and impious Doctrines. 2. That we fetch from Hell, and revive the old and long since condemn'd Heresies, and sow the Seeds of new Sects, and unheard of Broils: that we are already divided into contrary Factions and Opinions, and we could never yet in any manner agree amongst our selves. 3. That we are wicked men, and like the Gyants of old, have entered into a Rebellion against God himself, and live without the least regard to the Deity, and without any religious Worship. 4. That we despise all good Actions; that we do not use

The Accusations of the R. Catholicks;

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any virtuous Discipline, that we regard neither Laws nor good Manners, nor Right, nor Justice, nor Equity, nor Order; that we let loose the Rein, and suffer all sorts of Villanies, and even provoke the People to all the Licentiousness and Luxury that is possible. 5. *That* our Business and great Design is the subverting Monarchies and Kingdoms, that all States may be reduced under the Dominion of the ignorant Multitude, and the indifcreet Populace. 6. *That* we have made a tumultuous Defection from the Catholick Church, and have shaken the Peace of the World, and disturbed the Quiet of the Church by a detestable Schism; and that as heretofore *Dathan and Abiram* rose up against *Moses* and *Aaron*, so we, without any just cause have revolted from the Pope of *Rome*. 7. *That* we despise the Authority of the Primitive Fathers and antient Councils: *That* we have imprudently and insolently abrogated the antient Ceremonies which have been approved for many Ages by our Fathers and Grandfathers, who had better Manners, and lived in better Times; and that by our own private Authority, without the Consent of a Holy and General Council, we have introduced new Rites into the Church; and that we have not done this for the Sake of Religion, but purely out of a contentious Humour; that they on the contrary have changed nothing, but have retained all things as they were delivered to them by the Apostles; approved by the most antient Fathers, and have been kept ever since, through all the intermediate Ages to this day.

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6. AND least all this might seem to be only a Calumny, and that managed by secret Whispers only, with design to excite an Envy against us, the Popes of *Rome* have suborned eloquent and not unlearned Men to undertake the Defence of this desperate Cause, and to represent it to the World in Books and long Discourses, in the best Colours it was possible to give it, to the intent, that being elegantly and copiously pleaded, unskillful men might suspect there was something more than ordinary in it; for indeed they saw that their Cause was every where in a declining Condition; their Arts were now seen through, and so were the less esteemed; their Fortresses were every day undermin'd, and their Case stood in need of a powerful Patronage and Defence. But then as to those things which they have charged us with, some of them are manifestly false, and condemn'd by the Consciences of them that object them against us; others, though in the bottom they are false too, yet they have the shew and similitude of truth, so that an incautious and unthinking Reader may (especially if he be surpris'd by any of their laboured and elegant Discourses) be easily circumvented and deceived: and others of the things thus charged upon us, are such as we ought to acknowledge and profess, and not decline the owning them, as if they were Crimes, but defend them, as things that were well and rationally done. For to speak in a word, they slander whatever we do, even those Actions of ours, which themselves cannot deny to be rightly and well done;

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and maliciously deprave and pervert all our Words and Actions, as if it were not possible *We* should do or speak any thing as we ought. They ought indeed to treat us with more Simplicity and Candor, if they designed truth; but on the other hand, they do not oppose us with truth, nor in a Christian Way or Manner, but with Lyes, in a close and crafty way; and abuse the blindness and ignorance of the Rabble, and the want of Learning in Princes, to the inflaming their Hatred against us and the Oppression of the Truth. This is indeed the *Power of Darkness*, and the Folly of Men, who trust more in the Stupidity and benighted Minds of the unpollished Multitude, than in the Light of Truth; or as *St. Jerom* expresseth it, *This is to contradict with shut Eyes, the Truth, when it is most perspicuous.* But we bless the great and Holy God, our Cause is such, that though they never so much desire to defame it, yet they can fix no Reproach upon it, which they may not with as much Reason and Justice imploy against the Holy Fathers, the Prophets, the Apostles, against *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and even against Christ himself.

7. BUT now if they are so ambitious of the Honour of being thought polite and eloquent Slanderers, it does so much the less besit us to be mute and careless in the Defence of our most excellent Cause; for it is certainly the part only of dissolute Men, who can securely and wickedly shut their Eyes when the Divine Majesty is injured, to be wholly unconcern'd; what is (tho' falsly

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falsly and unjustly) said of them and their Cause, especially when it is of that Nature, that the Glory of God, and the Affairs of Religion are at the same time violated; for although other, and those often very great Injuries, may be born and dissembl'd by a modest Christian, yet He (*saith Ruffinus*) who shall patiently put up the Name of an Haretick, does not deserve to be called a Christian. Permit us then to do that which all Laws, and the very Voice of Nature commands us, that which Christ himself did, when he was in a like Case assaulted with Reproaches; that is, suffer us to repel their Defamations, and with Modesty and Truth, to defend our Cause and Innocence: for Christ himself, when the Pharisees charged him with Conjurati-
on, as if he had entered a Combination with impure Spirits, and by their Assistance wrought many Wonders, replied, *I John 8. 49.*
have not a Devil, but I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me; and St. Paul, when he was undervalued by Festus the Proconsul, as a Mad-man, answered, *I am not mad, Act. 26. 25.*
most noble Festus, but speak forth the Words of Truth and Soberness. And the Primitive Christians, when they were traduced to the People as Murtherers, Adulterers, Incestuous Persons, and Disturbers of the Government, and saw that the Excellence of their Religion might be call'd in question, especially if they held their Peace, and by their Silence, seemed to confess the truth of these Accusations, and so the Course of the Gospel might be hindered, they there-
upon

† *Quadratus*, upon † made publick Orations, wrote supplicant Books, and discoursed before Emperors and Princes in the publick defence of themselves and the Church.

Quadratus a Disciple of the Apostles, and Bishop of *Athens*, wrote Books for the Christian Religion, and made an Oration in the Defence of it before *Hadrian* the Emperor, by which he put a stop to a furious Persecution then moved against it. *Anno Christi* 128. *Spondanus*.

Justinus the Martyr, a Christian Philosopher, wrote an Apologetick Oration for the Christian Religion, with great freedom and truth, which he dedicated to *Antoninus Pius* the Emperor, and his adopted Sons *Marcus* and *Lucius*, and to the very Senate and People of *Rome*. *Anno Christi* 150. for which he lost his Life.

Melito, Bishop of *Sardis*, wrote an excellent Apology to *Aurelius* the Emperor for the Christians, which he presented to that Emperor in the tenth year of his Reign. *Anno Christi* 172. *Baronius*.

Tertullian wrote a very learned and a sharp Apology for the Christian Religion, which was some few years since made English. It was first published by the Author, without his Name, in the year of Christ 201. in the very City of *Rome*, and did great service to Christianity, which was then most miserably oppressed by the Lies and Defamations of the *Pagans*, which did it more hurt than all their other Fury.

8. BUT we perhaps may seem not to need any Defence, so many thousands of our Brethren in the last twenty years having born testimony to the Truth, amidst the most exquisite Tortures; and Princes, in endeavouring to put a stop to the Progress of the Gospel, and to that purpose using several Methods, having yet in the end been able to effect nothing; and the whole World now beginning to open their Eyes, and to see the Light, and therefore it may seem (as I said) that enough hath been spoken, and that our Cause is sufficiently defended, the thing speaking for it self; for if the Popes themselves would, or indeed, if they could consider with themselves the Beginning and Progress of

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our Religion; how theirs without any Resistance, without any humane Force hath fallen; and in the interim, ours hath increased, and by degrees been propagated into all Countries, and hath been entertained in the Courts of Kings, and the Palaces of Princes, even whilst it was opposed from the beginning by Emperors, by Kings, by Popes, and almost by all others; these things (I say) are clear Indications that God himself fights for us, and doth from Heaven deride and scorn their Projects and Endeavours, and that the Power of *Truth* is so great, that no humane Force, nor the very Gates of Hell shall ever be able to prevail against it; for so many free Cities, so many Princes cannot be supposed mad, as at this day have fallen from the See of *Rome*, and chosen rather to joynt themselves to the Gospel.

9. FOR although Popes have not as yet at any time been at leisure to think attentively and seriously of these things; or although other Thoughts may now hinder and distract them, or they may think these things light, and beneath the Dignity of the Popedom; is our Cause therefore to be thought ever the worse? or if perhaps they will pretend not to see what indeed they do see, and that they choose rather to oppose the Truth, even then when they are convinced of it; are we therefore presently to be reputed Hereticks, because we cannot comply with their Wills? If Pope *Pius* the III. had been such a Person as his Name speaks him, and as he so much desires to be thought; nay, indeed if he had but been so good a man, as to have esteem'd

The Apology of the

esteem'd us as his Brethren, or as MEN, certainly he would diligently have considered our Reasons, and what could have been alledged for and against us; and not with so rash and blindfold a precipitancy have condemned without hearing our cause, or allowing the Liberty of a Defence so considerable a part of the World, so many learned, so many Religious men, so many Commonwealths, so many Kings, and so many Princes as he has sentenced in his Bull, concerning his late pretended Council.

19. BUT now, because We are so publickly in this unjust manner noted by him, left by our silence we should seem to confess the Crimes charged upon us, and the rather, because we could in no manner be heard in any publick Council; where he would suffer none to have any Suffrage, or propose his Judgment, who was not first sworn to him, and intirely addicted to his Interest (for of this we had too great an experience in the last Council of Trent, when the Ambassadors and Divines of the Princes and free Cities of Germany were totally excluded out of the Council; nor can we forget that *Julius* the III. above ten years since, took a mighty care by his *Rescript*, that none of our Men might be heard in the Council, except it were one that was disposed to recant and change his Opinion.) For these causes (I say) we have thought fit by this Book to give an account of our Faith, and to answer truly and publickly what hath been publickly objected against us, that the whole World may see the Parts and Reasons of that Faith which so many good men have valued above their

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Lives, and that all Mankind may understand what kind of men they are, and what they think of God and Religion, whom the Bishop of *Rome* has inconsiderately enough, before they had made their Defence, without Example and without Law condemn'd for *Hereticks*, upon a bare report, that they differed from him and his in some points of Religion.

11. AND though St. *Jerome* will allow no man to be patient under the Suspicion of *Heresie*, yet we will not behave our selves neither sowerly nor irreverently, nor angrily, tho' he ought not to be esteemed either sharp or abusive, who speaks nothing but the truth; no, we will leave that sort of Oratory to our Adversaries, who think whatsoever they speak, although it be never so sharp and reproachful, modest and apposite, when it is applied to us, and they are as little concern'd whether it be true or false; but we, who defend nothing but the Truth, have no need of such base Arts.

12. NOW if we make it appear, and that not obscurely and craftily, but *bona fide*, before God, truly, ingeniously, clearly and perspicuously, that we teach the most holy Gospel of God, and that the antient Fathers, and the whole Primitive Church are on our side, and that we have not without just cause left them, and return'd to the Apostles and the antient Catholick Fathers; and if they, who so much detest our Doctrine, and pride themselves in the name of Catholicks, shall apparently see, that all those Pretences of Antiquity, of which they so immoderately glory,

glory, belong not to them, and that there is more strength in our Cause than they thought there was; then we hope that none of them will be so careless of his Salvation, but he will at some time or other bethink himself which side he ought to joyn with. Certainly, if a man be not of an hard and obdurate Heart, and resolved not to hear, he can never repent the having once considered our Defence, and the attending what is said by us, and whether it be agreeable or no to the Christian Religion.

13. FOR whereas they call us *Hereticks*, that is so dreadful a Crime, that except it be apparently seen, except it be palpable, and as it were to be felt with our Hands and Fingers, it ought not to be easily believed that a Christian is or can be guilty of it; for *Heresie* is a Renunciation of our Salvation, a Rejection of the Grace of God, and a departure from the Body and Spirit of Christ. But this was ever the Custom and Usage of them and of their Fore-fathers, that if any presumed to complain of their Errors, and desired the Reformation of Religion, they condemn'd them forthwith for Hereticks, as Innovators and factious men. *Christ* himself was call'd a *Samaritan*, for no other cause, but for that they thought he had made a defection to a new Religion or *Heresie*. And *St. Paul* the Apostle being call'd in question, was accused of *Heresie*, to which he replied. *After the Way which they call Heresie, so worship I the God of my Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law, and in the Prophets.*

AGS 24. 14.

14. In short, all that Religion which we Christians now profess in the beginning of Christianity, was by the *Pagans* call'd a *Sect* *Tertul. in Apo-* or *Heresie*; with these words they fill'd the *log.* ears of Princes, that when out of prejudice they had once possessed their minds with an Aversion for us, and that they were perswaded, that whatever we said was Factious and Heretical, they might be diverted from reflecting upon the thing it self, or ever hearing or considering the Cause: but by how much the greater and more grievous this Crime is, so much the rather ought it to be proved by clear and strong Arguments, especially at this time, because men begin now adays a little to distrust the Fidelity of their *Oracles*, and to inquire into their Doctrine with much greater industry than has heretofore been employed; for the People of God in this Age are quite of another Disposition than they were heretofore, when all the *Responses* and Dictates of the Popes of *Rome* were taken for Gospel, and all Religion depended upon their Authority; the Holy Scriptures, and the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets are every where now to be had, out of which, all the true and Catholick Doctrine may be proved, and all Heresies may be refuted.

15. BUT seeing they can produce nothing out of the Scriptures against us, it is very injurious and cruel to call us Hereticks, who have not revolted from Christ, nor from the Apostles, nor from the Prophets. By the Sword of Scripture Christ overcame the Devil when he was Tempted by him; with these Weapons every high thing that exalteth it self *2 Cor. 10. 4.* against *5.*

2 Tim. 3. 16.

De Unitate
Eccl. c. 3. con-
tra Max. lib.
3. c. 14.

In prim. cap.
Aggci.

Acts 24. 14.

against God, is to be brought down and dis-
perfed, for all Scripture (faith St. Paul) is gi-
ven by inspiration of God, and is profitable for
Doctrin, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instructi-
on, that the Man of God may be perfect and
thoroughly furnished unto all good Works; and ac-
cordingly, the Holy Fathers have never
fought against Hereticks with any other
Arms, than what the Scriptures have afford-
ed them. St. *Augustin*, when he disputed a-
gainst *Petilianus* a *Donatist* Heretick, useth
these words, *Let not* (saith he) *these words be*
heard, I say, or thou sayest, but rather let us say,
thus saith the Lord, let us seek the Church there:
let us judge of our Cause by that. And St. *Je-*
rom saith, *Let whatever is pretended to be de-*
livered by the Apostles, and cannot be proved by
the Testimony of the written Word, be struck with
the Sword of God. And St. *Ambrose* to the
Emperor *Gratian*, *Let the Scriptures* (saith he)
let the Apostles, let the Prophets, let Christ be in-
terrogated. The Catholick Fathers and Bi-
shops of those times, did not doubt but our
Religion might be sufficiently proved by
Scripture; nor durst they esteem any man
an Heretick, whose Error they could not
perspicuously and clearly prove such by
Scripture. And as to us, we may truly reply
with St. Paul, *After the way which they call*
HERESIE, so worship I the God of my Fa-
thers, believing all things which are written in
the Law and the Prophets, or the Writings of
the Apostles.

16. IF therefore we be Hereticks, and they
(as they desire to be call'd) be Catholicks;
why do they not do what they see the Fathers
and

and all other Catholicks have done? why do they not convince us out of the Holy Scriptures? why do they not try us by them? why do they not shew that we have made a defection from Christ, from the Prophets, from the Apostles, and from the Holy Fathers? Why do they stand? Why do they draw back? It is the Cause of God. Why then should they fear to commit it to the Arbitriment of the Word of God? But if we are Hereticks, who submit all our Controversies to the Holy Scriptures, and appeal to those very Words which we know were consigned to writing by God himself, and prefer them before all other things which can possibly be excogitated by the Wit of Man; what are they, or by what Name shall they be call'd, who fear and shun the Sentence of the Scriptures, that is, the Judgment of God himself, and prefer their own Dreams and silly Inventions before them, and have for some Ages violated the Institutions of Christ and his Apostles, for the sake of their Traditions? There is a Story of *Sophocles* the Tragedian, that when he was very old, he was accused before the Judges by his own Sons, for a childish and a silly Person, as one that had wasted his Estate by ill managery, and stood in need of a Guardian in his old Age, to take care of him and it; the old Man appeared in Court, and instead of a Defence, recited a Tragedy, which he had very elaborately and elegantly written, just in that time the Suit was depending, and thereupon asked the Judges if that Poem were the Work of a childish person.

The Apology of the

16. SO we therefore, because we are taken by them for mad-men, and are traduced as if we were Hereticks, and as if we had nothing to do with Christ, nor with the Church of God; have thought it not unreasonable or unprofitable to propound openly and freely the Faith in which we stand, and all that Hope which we have in Christ Jesus, that all may see what we think of every part of the Christian Religion, and so determine with themselves, whether that Faith which they must needs perceive to be consonant to the Words of Christ and the Writings of the Apostles, and the Testimonies of the Catholick Fathers, and which is confirmed by the Examples of many Ages, be only the Rage of a sort of mad-men, and a Combination, or Conspiracy of Hereticks.

C H A P. II.

Containing the Doctrine received in the Church of England.

WE believe that there is one certain Nature and Divine Power which we call G O D, and that this is distinguished into three equal Persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, all of the same Power, of the same Majesty, of the same Eternity, of the same Divinity, and of the same Substance; and altho' these three Persons are so distinguished, that the Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Holy Ghost or Father, yet

yet there is but one GOD, and that this one God created Heaven and Earth, and whatever is contain'd within the Circumference of the Heavens.

2. WE believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father, as it had been decreed, before the beginning of all things, when the fulness of time came, took our Flesh and perfect Humane Nature of that blessed and pure Virgin, that he might reveal to Men, that hidden and secret Will of his Father, which was conceal'd from all former Ages and Generations; and that in this humane Body, he might finish the Myſtery of our Redemption, and might nail to his Croſs our Sins, and the *Obligation* which lay against us. Coll. 2. 14.

3. FOR we believe that for our ſakes he died, was buried, deſcended into Hell, and the third day, by a Divine Power, returned to Life, and aroſe, and after forty days, in the ſight of his Diſciples, aſcended into Heaven, that he might fill all things, and that the very Body in which he was born, in which he convers'd, in which he was deſpiſed, in which he had ſuffered moſt grievous Torments, and a moſt direful Death, in which he roſe, and now aſcended to the right hand of his Father; was placed above all Principalities and Power, and every Name which is mentioned, not only in this World, but in that which is to come, in Maſteſty and Glory. And we believe that he doth now ſit there, Act. 3. 21. and ſhall ſit there till all things are fulfil'd; and altho the Maſteſty and Divinity of Chriſt is diffuſed every where, yet his Body

*Tract. 30. in
Joan.*

*Epist. ad Dar-
dan.*

*Fulgentius ad
Regem Thrafi
mundum.*

(as St. Augustine saith) ought to be in one place ; we believe that tho Christ added Majesty to his Body, yet he took not from it the Nature of a Body ; nor is Christ to be so asserted to be God, that we should deny him to be Man : and as the Martyr *Vigilius* said, *Christ left us as to his Humane Nature, but he hath not left us in his Divine Nature ; and tho he is absent from us by the Form of a Servant, yet he is ever with us by the Form of God.*

4. AND from thence we believe Christ shall return to exercise a general Judgment, as well upon those he shall then find alive, as upon all that are then dead.

5. WE believe that the *Holy Ghost*, who is the third Person in the *Holy Trinity*, is true God, not made nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from both, that is, from the Father and the Son, in a way neither known to Mortals, nor possible to be expressed by them. We believe that it is He who softens the Hardness of Mans Heart, when he is received into their Hearts, by the saving preaching of the Gospel, or by any other way whatsoever ; that it is He who inlightens them, and leads them to the Knowledge of God, into all the ways of Truth, into a perfect newness of Life, and a perpetual hope of Salvation.

6. WE believe that there is one Church of God, and that not confin'd as it was heretofore to the Jewish People, in one Angle or Kingdom, but that it is *Catholick* and *Universal*, and so diffused or spread over the Face of the whole Earth ; that there is no Nation which

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which can justly complain that it is excluded, and cannot be admitted into the Church and People of God ; that this Church is the Kingdom, the Body and Spouse of Christ ; that Christ is the only Prince of this Kingdom ; that there is in the Church divers Orders of Ministers, that there are some who are *Deacons*, others who are *Presbyters*, and others who are *Bishops*, to whom the Instruction of the People, and the Care and Management of Religion is committed : And yet that there neither is, nor is it possible there should be, any one man who has the care of this whole Catholick Church, for Christ is ever present with his Church, and needs not a *Vicar*, or sole and perfect Successor ; and that no mortal Man can in his mind contain all the Body of the Universal Church, that is, all the parts of the Earth, much less can he reduce them into an exact Order, and rightly and prudently administer its Affairs. That the Apostles, as St. Cyprian saith, were all of equal Power and Authority, and that all the rest were what St. Peter was ; that it was said to all alike, Feed : To all, go ye into all the World : To all, teach ye the Gospel. And that as St. Jerome saith, All Bishops, wheresoever they are settled, whether it be at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, they are of equal Worth, and of the same Priesthood. And as St. Cyprian saith, there is but one Episcopacy, and each of them hath a perfect and intire share of it. And that according to the Judgment and Sentence of the Council of Nice, the Bishop of Rome hath no more Authority in the Church of God than the other

*De Simpl.
Prælatorum.*

Patriarchs, viz. the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. That the Bishop of *Rome*, who now endeavours to draw all the Ecclesiastical Authority to himself alone, if he doth not his Dury, that is, if he doth not administer the Sacraments, if he doth not instruct the People, Admonish and Teach, he is not to be call'd a Bishop, or indeed a Presbyter; for as St. *Augustin* saith, *Bishop* is the Name of a Work or Office, and not a Title of Honour; so that he who would usurp an unprofitable Preheminence in the Church is no Bishop. But then, that the Bishop of *Rome*, or any other Person should be the Head of the whole Church, or an universal Bishop is no more possible, than that he should be the Bridegroom, the Light, the Salvation, and the Life of the Church, for these are the Priviledges and Titles of Christ alone, and do properly and only belong to him; nor was there ever any Bishop of *Rome*, who would suffer so insolent and proud a Title to be given him, before the Times of *Phocas* the Emperor, who as we very well know, aspired to the Empire by a most detestable Villany (the Murther of *Mauritius* the former Emperor, his Sovereign) that is, till the year of Christ 613. That the Council of *Cartbage* expressly decreed, that no Bishop should be called the highest * *Pontiff* or chief Priest. But the Bishop of *Rome*, because he now desires to be so call'd, and usurps a Power which belongs

Chap. 47.

* The Title of *Pontifex Maximus* was that of the Roman Heathen

Priests, and cannot properly be rendred into *English* any other way, than by that of Priest, it being not of the same nature with the Word Bishop, yet have the Popes of *Rome* usurped this very heathen Title.

not to him, besides that, he acts directly against the ancient Councils and the Fathers, if he dares believe St. *Gregory*, one of his own Predecessors, he has taken upon him an arrogant, prophane, sacrilegious, antichristian Title, and is therefore the King of Pride, *Lucifer*, one that sets himself above his Brethren, who has denied the Faith, and is thereby become the fore-runner of Antichrist.

Gregory lib.
4. Ep. 76. 78.
80. lib. 7. Ep.
69.

7. W E say that a Minister ought to have a lawful Call, and be duly and orderly preferred in the Church of God, and that no Man ought at his own Will and Pleasure to intrude into the sacred Ministry. So that a very great Injury is done us, by them, who so frequently affirm, that nothing is done decently and in order with us, but all things are managed confusedly and disorderly; and that with us all (that will) are Priests, Teachers, and Interpreters.

8. W E say that Christ has given to his Ministers the Power of Binding and Loosing, of Opening and Shutting. And we say that the Power of Loosing consists in this, that the Minister, by the preaching of the Gospel, offers to dejected Minds and true Penitents, through the Merits of Christ, Absolution, and doth assure them of a certain Remission of their Sins, and the hopes of eternal Salvation. Or secondly, reconciles, restores, and receives into the Congregation and Unity of the Faithful, those Penitents, who by any grievous Scandal or known and publick Offence, have offended the Minds of their Brethren, and in a sort, alienated and separated themselves

from the common Society of the Church, and the Body of Christ. And we say, the Minister doth exercise the Power of Binding or Shutting, when he shutteth the Gate of the Kingdom of Heaven against Unbelievers and obstinate Persons, and denounceth to them the Vengeance of God and eternal Punishment ; or excludeth out of the Bosome of the Church, those that are publicly excommunicated ; and that God himself doth so far approve whatever Sentence his Ministers shall so give, that whatsoever is either loosed or bound by their Ministry here on Earth, he will in like manner bind or loose, and confirm in Heaven : The Key with which these Ministers do shut or open the Kingdom of Heaven, we say with *St. Chrysostom*, is the *Knowledge of the Scripture* ; with *Tertullian*, is the *Interpretation of the Law* ; and with *Eusebius*, is the *Word of God*. We say the Disciples of Christ received this Power (from him) not that they might hear the private Confessions of the People, and catch their whispering Murmurs, as the Popish Priests every where now do ; and that in such a manner, as, if all the force and use of the Keys consisted only in this ; but that they might go and Preach and Publish the Gospel, that so they might be a favour of Life unto Life, to them that did believe ; and that they might be also a favour of Death unto Death, to those that did not believe ; that the Minds of the Pious, who were affrighted with the sense of their former ill Lives and Errors, after they beheld the Light of the Gospel, and believed in Christ, might be opened by the Word of God,

God, as doors are with a Key. And that the wicked and stubborn, who would not believe and return into the Way, might be left, shut up, and locked, and as St. Paul expresseth it, might *wax worse and worse*; this we take to be the meaning of the *Keys*, and that in this manner the Consciences of Men are either bound or loosed. We say that the Priest is a Judge; but then we say with St. *Ambrose*, that he hath not the Right of any Dominion; and therefore Christ reprehended the *Scribes and Pharisees* with these words, that he might reprove their Negligence in teaching: *Wo unto you Scribes and Pharisees, for you have taken away the Key of Knowledge, and shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men.* Seeing then the Key, by which a Passage is opened for us into the Kingdom of Heaven, is the Word of the Gospel, and the Interpretation of the Law and the Scriptures: where there is no such Word, there is no Key. And seeing the same word was given to all, and the Key which pertains to all, is but one; we say that the Power of all Ministers as to binding and loosing, is one and the same; and we say, that even the Pope himself, notwithstanding his Flatterers, do so sweetly soothe him up with these words, *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*; as if they belonged to him, and to no other Mortal under Heaven; except he makes it his Business to bend and subdue the Consciences of Men to the Word of God, we deny that even he (as I said) can either open or shut, or hath at all the Keys; and altho he both teach and instruct the People (which I wish

2 Tim. 3. 13.

Math. 23. 13.

Luk. 11. 52.

Math. 16. 19.

wish he would sometimes do truly, and at last be perswaded to believe it is at least some part of his Duty and Office) but yet if he did so, his Key would be neither better nor greater than that of others; for who made that difference? Who taught him to open more learnedly, or absolve more powerfully than his Brethren?

In Titum.

Hom. I.

Theoph. ad Titum. Euseb. lib.

18. c. 5. in

Monodia sua

super Basilium.

1 Tim. 4. 1:

** Huldéricus.*

Platina in vita

Pij secundi.

9. WE say that Marriage is Honorable and Holy in all degrees of Men, in Patriarchs, in Prophets, in Apostles, in Holy Martyrs, in the Ministers of the Churches, and in the Bishops, and that as St. Chrysostom saith, it is both lawful and just that he should ascend the Episcopal Throne with it; and we say as Solomon did of Spiridion, and Nazianzen did of his own Father, that a pious and industrious Bishop is nothing the worse for being married, but rather much the better, and more useful in his Ministry. And we say that the Law, which by force taketh away this Liberty from Men, and ties them to a single Life against their Wills, is as St. Paul stiles it, the Doctrine of Devils; and that from hence (as is confessed by the Bishop of * Augusta; Faber, the Abbot of Palermo, Latomus, the tripartite Work, which is joyned to the second Tome of the Councils, and other defenders of the Papal Party, and which is apparent from the thing it self, and confessed by all Histories) an incredible impurity of Life and Manners, and horrible Debaucheries in the Ministers of God have sprung and arisen; so that Pius the second Bishop of Rome was not out, when he said he saw many Causes why the Clergy should be denied Wives; but then he saw more

and greater Causes to allow them Wives again.

10. WE receive and imbrace all the Canonical Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament; and we give our gracious God most hearty Thanks, that he hath set up this Light for us, which we ever fix our Eyes upon, lest by humane Fraud, or the Snares of the Devil, we should be seduced to Errors or Fables: We own them to be the heavenly Voices by which God hath reveal'd and made known his Will to us; in them only can the Mind of Man acquiesce; in them all that is necessary for our Salvation is abundantly and plainly contain'd, as *Origen*, *St. Augustin*, *St. Chrysostom*, and *St. Cyrill* have taught us. They are the very Might and Power of God unto Salvation; they are the Foundations of the Apostles and Prophets, upon which the Church of God is built; they are the most certain and infallible Rule by which the Church may be reduced, if She happen to stagger, slip, or err, by which all Ecclesiastical Doctrines ought to be tried; no Law, no Tradition, no Custom is to be received or continued, if it be contrary to Gal. 1. 8. Scripture. No, tho *St. Paul* himself, or an Angel from Heaven should come and teach otherwise.

11. WE receive also and allow the *Sacraments* of the Church, that is, the sacred Signs and Ceremonies which Christ commanded us to use, that he might by them, represent to our eyes the Mysteries of our Salvation, and most strongly confirm the Faith we have in his Blood, and seal in our Hearts his Grace; and

The Apology of the

and we call them *Figures, Signs, Types, Antitypes, Forms, Seals, Prints or Signets, Similitudes, Examples, Images, Remembrances and Memorials*; with *Tertullian, Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Jerom, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil and Dionysius*, and many other Catholick Fathers. Nor do we doubt with them, to call them a kind of *visible Words*; *the Signets of Righteousness, and the Symbols of Grace*; and clearly affirm, that in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the Body and Blood of our Lord, is truly exhibited to Believers; that is, the enlivening Flesh of the Son of God; the Bread that comes from above, the Nourishment of Immortality, the Grace, the Truth, and the Life; and that it is the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, by the Participation of which we are quickned, strengthened, and fed to immortality, and by which we are conjoynd, united and incorporated with Christ, that we may remain in him, and he in us.

12. WE acknowledge that there are two Sacraments properly so call'd, *Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord*; for so many we see were delivered to us, and consecrated by Christ, and approved by *St. Ambrose, St. Augustin*, and the ancient Fathers.

13. AND we say that *Baptism* is the Sacrament of the Remission of Sins, and of that Washing which we have in the Blood of Christ, and that none are to be denied that Sacrament, who will profess the Faith of Christ, no, not the Infants of Christians, because they are born in sin, and belong to the People of God.

14. WE

Church of ENGLAND.

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14. WE say that the *Eucharist* is the Sacrament or visible *Symbol* of the Body and Blood of Christ, in which the Death and Resurrection of Christ, and what he did in his humane Body, is in a manner represented to our eyes, that we may give him thanks for his Death, and our Deliverance by it; and that by frequenting the Sacrament, we may often renew the Remembrance of it, and that by the Body and Blood of Christ, we may be nourished into the Hope of the Resurrection, and of eternal Life; and that we may be assured that the Body and Blood of Christ hath the same effect in the feeding of our Souls, which the Bread and Wine have in the repairing the Decays of our Bodies. To this great and solemn Feast the People are to be invited, that they may all communicate together, and may publicly signify and testify both their Union and Society amongst themselves, and that Hope which they have in Christ Jesus; and therefore, if there was any one heretofore, before the private Mass was introduced, who would be only a Spectator, and yet would abstain from the Holy Communion, the Bishops of Rome in the Primitive Times, and the ancient Fathers would have excommunicated him as a wicked man and a Pagan: Nor was there any Christian man in those times, who communicated alone, in the presence of others who were only Spectators. So * *Calixtus* long since decreed, that when the Consecration was finished, all should communicate, if they would not be deprived of the Communion of the Church, and be shut out of it; for so

(saith

*chrysost. ad E-
phe. Ser. 3. De
conser. dist. 1.
cap. Omnes.
* But now in
the Decretum
under the
Name of Ana-
cletus.*

The Apology of the

(saith he) *the Apostles ordained, and the Holy Church of Rome holds.* And we say, that both the Parts of the Sacrament ought to be given to all that come to the Holy Communion, for so Christ commanded, and the Apostles instituted throughout the World, and all the ancient Fathers and Catholick Bishops so practised; and if any one shall do otherwise (saith *Gelasius*) he commits Sacrilege; and therefore our Adversaries, who exploding and rejecting the Communion, defend the private Mass, and a multitude of Sacraments, without the authority of the Word of God, without any ancient Council, without any Catholick Father, without any Example of the Primitive Church, and without Reason, and this against the expresse Command of Christ, and also against all Antiquity in so doing, act wickedly and sacrilegiously.

De consecratione Dist. 1. cap. comperimus.

15. WE say that the *Bread and Wine* are the Holy and Heavenly Mysteries of the Body and Blood of Christ, and that in them, Christ himself, the true Bread of eternal Life is so exhibited to us as present, that we do by Faith truly take his Body and Blood, and yet at the same time we speak not this so as if we thought the Nature of the Bread and Wine were totally changed and abolished, as many in the last Ages have dreamt, and as yet, could never agree amongst themselves about this Dream. For neither did Christ ever design that the Wheaten Bread should change its Nature, and assume a new kind of Divinity, but rather that it might change us; and that as *Theophylact* saith, *we might be transformed into his Body*: For what can be more

** In Joan. cap. 6.*

per-

perspicuous than what ^b St. Ambrose saith on this occasion, *the Bread and Wine are what they were, and yet are changed into another thing?* Or what ^c Gelasius saith, *The Substance of the Bread, and Nature of the Wine do not cease to be.* Or then what ^d Theodoret, *after the Consecration on the mystical Symbols, do not cast off their own proper Nature (for they remain in their former Substance and Figure and Species.* Or then what St. Augustin saith, *that which you see, is Bread, and a Cup, as your Eyes inform you; but that which your Faith desires to be instructed in, is this, the Bread is the Body of Christ, and the Cup is his Blood.* Or then that of ^e Origen, *that Bread which is consecrated by the Word of God, as to the Matter of it, goes into the Belly, and is cast out by the Draught.* Or then that of Christ himself, who said, not only after the Consecration, but after the finishing of the Communion: *I will drink no more of the Fruit of the Vine*; for it is certain the Fruit of the Vine is Wine, and not Blood? And yet when we speak thus, we do not so depress the Esteem of the Supper of the Lord, as to teach that it is a meer cold Ceremony, and that nothing is done in it, which many falsely report of us; for we assert that Christ in his Sacraments doth exhibit himself truly present: In Baptism, that we may put him on: In his Supper, that we may eat him by Faith, and in the Spirit, and that by his Cross and Blood we may have Life Eternal; and this we say is not slightly and coldly, but really and truly done; for although we do not touch Christ with our Teeth and Lips, yet we hold and press him by Faith, Mind, and Spirit.

Nos

^b De Sacra.^c l. 4. c. 4.^e In Dialo. l. 2.^d In Sermone ad infantes de Consecratione.^e In Math. 15.

Luke 22. 18.

Gen. 2. 23.
John 6. 56.

Nor is that Faith vain which imbraceth Christ, nor that Participation cold, which is perceived by the Mind, Understanding and Spirit; for so Christ himself is intirely offered and given to us in these Mysteries as much as is possible, that we may truly know that we are Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone, and that he dwells in us, and we in him.

In cerna Domi-
ni.

In Johan.
trath. 50.

16. AND therefore in the Celebration of these Mysteries, before we come to receive the Holy Communion, the People are fitly admonished to lift up their Hearts, and that they should direct their Minds to Heaven, for there he is, by whom we are to be fed and live. And St. Cyrill saith, *that in partaking of the Holy Mysteries, all gross Imaginations are to be excluded.* And the Nicene Council, as it is cited by some in Greek, doth expressly forbid us *to think only on the Bread and Wine that are set before us.* And St. Chrysostom writes well, *We say that the Body of Christ is the Carcass, and we are to be the Eagles, that thereby we may learn to mount aloft, if we will approach the Body of Christ; for this is the Table of Eagles, and not of Jayes.* And St. Cyprian, *This Bread is the Meat of the Soul, and not of the Belly.* And St. Augustin, *How shall I lay hold on him who is absent? how shall I reach my Hand into the Heavens, and touch him who sits there? Send thy Faith thither (saith he) and thou hast him sure.*

17. BUT then as to the Fairs and Sales of Masses, and the carrying about and adoring the Bread, and a number of such like Idolatrous and blasphemous Follies, which none of

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of them dare affirm to have been delivered to us by Christ or his Apostles ; our Church will not indure them, and we justly blame the Bishops of *Rome* for presuming, without any Command of God, without any Authority of the Holy Fathers, and without any Example, not only to propose the Sacramental Bread to be adored by the People with a divine Worship, but also to carry it about before them upon an *ambling Nag* where-ever they go, as the *Persian Kings* did heretofore their sacred *Fire*, and the *Egyptian* their Image of *Isis*, and so have turned the Sacraments of Christ into Pageantry and Pomp, that, in that very thing in which the Death of Christ was to be celebrated and inculcated, and the Mysteries of our Redemption ought to be piously and reverently represented, the Eyes of men should only be fed with a foolish shew, and a piece of Ludicrous Levity. And then, whereas they say, and sometimes perswade Fools, that they can by their Masses distribute and apply to men (who very often think of nothing less, and never know what is then doing) all the Merits of the Death of Christ ; this Pretence, I say, is ridiculous, heathenish and silly ; for it is our Faith which applies the Death and Cross of Christ to us, and not the Action of a Priest : the Faith of the Sacraments (saith St. *Augustin*) justifies, and not the Sacrament. And *Origen* saith, He (Christ) is the Priest, and the Propitiation, and the Sacrifice, and this Propitiation comes to every one by way of Faith ; and therefore agreeably herunto we say that the Sacraments do not profit the Living without

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Faith,

Lib. de carere.
Eccl. Rom.

Purgatory.

August in
Psal. 85. in
Enchiridja c.
6. 7. de civita-
te Dei. lib. 21.
cap. 26. lib. 11.
contra Pelegi-
an. lib. Hipog-
nosticon. 5.

Of Ceremo-
nies.

1 Cor. 14. 40.

Faith, and much less the Dead; for as to what they pretend concerning their *Purgatory*, tho that is no very late Invention, yet it is nothing but a silly old wives Story. St. *Augustin* sometimes saith there is such a place, sometimes he doth not deny but there may be such a Place, sometimes he doubts if there be, and at other times he positively denies there is any such place at all, and thinks that men, out of humane kindness to the Dead, are deceived in that point. And yet from this one Error there has sprung such a Crop of finall Priests, that Masses being publickly and openly sold in every corner, they have turn'd the Churches of God into meer Shops, and deluded poor Mortals into a Belief that there was no Commodity more useful; and certainly, as to those small Levites, these Masses were very advantagious.

18. WE know that St. *Augustin* grievously complain'd of the vast number of impertinent *Ceremonies* in his time, and therefore we have cut off a great many of them, because we know they were afflictive to the Consciences of Men, and burthensome to the Church of God. Yet we still retain, and religiously use, not only all those which we know were delivered to the Church by the Apostles, but some others which we saw might be born without any inconvenience; because, as St. *Paul* commands, we desire all things in the Religious Assemblies, should be done *decently and in order*; but then as to all those that were very superstitious, or base, or ridiculous, or, contrary to the Scriptures, or did not seem to besit sober men, an infinite number

number of which, are still to be found amongst Papists; we have rejected all these, I say, without excepting any one of them, because we would not have the Service of God any longer contaminated with such Fooleries.

19. WE pray (as it is fit we should) in that Tongue our People do all understand, that the People, as *St. Paul* admonisheth, may reap a common Advantage by the common Prayers; as all the Holy Fathers and Catholick Bishops, not only in the Old, but in the New Testament also did ever pray, and teach the People to pray, least, as *St. Augustin* saith, *We should like Parrots, and other prating Birds, seem to sound Words which we did not understand.* Prayer in our own Tongue;

20. WE have no *Mediator* and *Intercessor*, by whom we approach to God the Father, but Jesus Christ, in whose name only all things are obtained. But that which we see done in their Churches, is base and heathenish; not only because they have set up an infinite number of Intercessors, without any Authority of the Word of God; so that as *Jeremiah* saith, *According to the number of thy Cities, so are thy Gods*; so that miserable men know not which to apply themselves to, and tho they are innumerable, yet they have ascribed to each of them their Office; and what was to be obtained, had, and received from each of them; but also because they have not only impiously, but impudently solicited the *Virgin Mary*, that she would remember she is a Mother, that she would be pleased to command her Son, and that she would make use of the Authority she hath over him. Mediators and Intercessors:
Jerem. 2. 28.
11. 13.

D 2

21. WE

Original Sin.

1 John 2. 2.

4. 10.

Col. 1. 20.

Heb. 10. 14.

John 19. 30.

Sacrifice.

Of good
Works.

21. WE say that Man is born, and does live in Sin, and that no man can truly say his Heart is clean; that the most holy Man is an unprofitable Servant: that the Law of God is perfect, and requires of us a full and perfect Obedience, and that we cannot in any way keep it perfectly in this Life; and that there is no Mortal who can be justified in the sight of God by his own Deserts; and therefore our only Refuge and Safety, is in the Mercy of God the Father by Jesus Christ, and in the assuring our selves that he is the Propitiation for our Sins, by whose Blood, all our Stains are washed out; that he has pacified things by the Blood of his Cross; that He, by that only Sacrifice which he once offered upon the Cross, hath perfected all things; and therefore when he breathed out his Soul, said **IT IS FINISHED**; as if by these words he would signify, now the Price is paid for the Sins of Mankind.

22. NOW if there be any who think not that this Sacrifice is sufficient, let them go and find out a better; but as as for us, because we know this is the only Sacrifice, we are contented with it alone, nor do we expect any other; and because it was only once to be offered, we do not injoin the Repetition of it; and because it was full, and in all its Numbers and Parts perfect, we do not substitute to it the perpetual Successions of our own Sacrifices.

23. THO we say there is no trust to be put in the Merits of our Works and Actions, and place all the Hopes and Reason of our Salvation only in Christ, yet we do not there

therefore say that men should live loosely and dissolutely, as if Baptism and Faith were sufficient for a Christian, and there were nothing more required; *the true Faith is a living Faith, and cannot be idle*; therefore we teach the People, that God hath not call'd us to Luxury and Disorder, but as St. Paul saith, *Unto good Works, that we might walk in them.* *That God hath delivered us from the Power of Darknes, that we might serve the living God*: that we should root up all the Reliques of sin; *that we should work out our Salvation with fear and trembling*; that it might appear that the Spirit of Sanctification was in us, and that Christ himself dwelleth in our Hearts by Faith.

Ephes. 2. 10.

Col. 1. 10.

Phil. 2. 12.

24. To conclude, We believe that this Body of ours in which we live, tho after Death it turns to Dust, yet in the last day it shall return to Life again, by the Spirit of Christ that dwelleth in us; and that then, whatever we suffer for Christ in the interim, he will wipe away all Tears from our Eyes, and that then through him, we shall enjoy everlasting Life, and be always with him in Glory, *AMEN*.

C H A P. III.

Containing a plain Demonstration of the Causes why, and whence Heresies arose in the Church, with Instances of all sorts, in all Times.

THESE are the horrible Heresies for which a considerable part of the World at this day are condemn'd by the Pope unheard ; it had been better to have entered a Contest with Christ, the Apostles and holy Fathers ; for they it was, who did not only give a beginning to these Doctrines, but commanded them ; unless they of the Church of Rome will say (as perhaps they will) that Christ did not institute the Holy Communion, that it might be distributed amongst the Faithful ; or that the Apostles of Jesus Christ, or the ancient Fathers said private Masses in all the corners of their Churches, sometimes ten, and at other twenty in one day ; or that Christ and the Apostles deprived the People of the Cup ; or that That which they now do, and that with that eagerness, that whoever will not comply with them in it, is by them condemn'd for an Heretick, is not call'd Sacrilege by one of their own Popes, *Gelasius* ; or that those are not the Words of *Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gelasius, Theodoret, Chrysostom, and Origen*. " That the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament remain what they were

“ were before ; that that which is seen on the
 “ Holy Table is Bread ; that the Substance of
 “ the Bread doth not cease to be, nor the na-
 “ ture of the Wine ; that the Substance and
 “ Nature of the Bread is not changed ; that
 “ this very Bread, as to what concerns the
 “ Matter of it, goes down into the Belly, and
 “ is cast out by the Draught : or that Christ
 and his Apostles and the Fathers did not
 pray in that Tongue which was understood
 by the People ; or that “ Christ by that one
 “ Oblation which he once offered, hath not
 “ perfected the Work of our Redemption ;
 “ or that this Sacrifice was so imperfect, that
 “ we need another. Either they must say
 all these things, or else they must aver, which
 perhaps they had rather say, that all Right
 and Justice is inclosed in the Cabinet of the
 Popes Breast ; and as one* of his Followers
 and Flatterers once said, *that he may dispense* *Distin. 35.*
against the Apostles, against the Councils, and
against the Apostolical Canons, and that he is *Letor in Glos.*
not bound by those Examples, Institutions *sa Distin. 21.*
and Laws of Christ. *Presbyter.*

2. THUS we have been taught by Christ,
 by the Apostles and Holy Fathers, and we do
 faithfully teach the People of God the same
 things, and for so doing, we are called *Here-*
ticks, by the great Leader and Prince of Re-
 ligion. O immortal God ! What have Christ
 and his Apostles, and so many Fathers all
 erred ? What, are *Origen, Ambrose, Augustin,*
Chrysostom, Gelasius and Theodoret Apostates
 from the Catholick Faith ? Was the Consent
 of so many Bishops and Learned men, no-
 thing but a Conspiracy of Hereticks ? or

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that which was commendable in them, is it now blameable in us? And that which was Catholick in them, is it by a Change in the Wills of Men, become schismatical in us? Or that which was once true, is it now, because it displeaseth them, become false? Let them then produce a new Gospel, or at least, set forth their Reasons, why those things which were so long publickly observed and approved in the Church, ought now at last to be recall'd. We know that the Word which was reveal'd by Christ, and propagated by the Apostles, is sufficient to promote our Salvation and all Truth, and to convince all Heresies: Out of it alone we condemn all sorts of ancient Heresies (which they pretend we have recall'd from the bottom of Hell) and pronounce the *Arrians*, *Eutichians*, *Marcionites*, *Ebionites*, the *Valentinians*, *Carpocratians*, *Tatians*, and *Novatians*; and in one word, all those who have thought impiously, either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other part of the Christian Religion; all these (I say) because they are convicted by the Gospel of Christ, we pronounce them wicked and lost men,

* *George Paris* an *Arrian*, was burnt in the Reign of Edward the 6th. April the 4th. 1551. for Heresie, tho he was a German by Nation. *Godwins* *Annals*.

and detest them to the Gates of Hell; and not only so, but if any of those Heresies happen to break out, anew amongst us, we severely and seriously correct the * Revivers of them with lawful and civil Punishments.

3. We confess, that upon the beginning of the Reformation, there arose some new and unheard of Sects, as *Anabaptists*, *Libertines*, *Menonians*, and *Zwinkfeldians*; but we render our unfeigned Thanks to God, that the World is

now

now well satisfied, that we neither brought forth, nor taught, nor maintained those Monsters. Whoever thou art who thinkest otherwise, be pleased to read our Books, which are every where to be had. What is there in them that can fairly be taken to favour the madness of these People? Yea, there are at this day no Nations so free from these Pests, as those in which the Gospel is freely taught. Now if they would rightly and attentively consider this thing, it is a strong Argument, that the Doctrine we teach is the very truth of the Gospel; for neither Tares nor Chaff use to spring up or be found but in Corn. And who knows not what a number of Heresies arose when the Gospel was first propagated in the World, in the Times of the very Apostles? Who before these Times, ever heard of *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, *Corpocrates*, *Cerintus*, *Ebion*, *Valentinus Secundus*, *Marcosius Colorbafius*, *Heracleo*, *Lucian*, and *Severus*? But why should I mention this contemptible Number? *Epiphanius* reckons LXXX. and *St. Augustin* more distinct Heresies which grew up with the Gospel. What then? was not the Gospel the Gospel, because, together with it, so many Heresies were produced? or shall we therefore say, that Christ was not Christ?

4. AND yet (as I said) this cursed Crop has not sprung up in our Fields, where the Gospel is freely preached, and publicly received and settled. Those Plagues have had their Rise in the darkness and blindness of our Adversaries, and with them too they have increased and spread themselves where the Truth

The Apology of the

Truth is oppressed with Tyranny and Cruelty, nor are these things to be heard of any where but in Corners and Conventicles. Let them make a Tryal, let them grant the Gospel its free Course, let the Truth of Jesus Christ freely shine and extend its Rays to all Parts without hindrance, and they shall soon see, that as the Darknes of the Night vanisheth at the approach of the Sun, so will these Shadows disappear before the Light of the Gospel. For as for us, we daily make it our business to repel and confute these Heresies, which we are falsely reported to nourish and encourage, whilst our adversaries sit still and mind nothing less.

5. AND whereas they say we are divided into divers Sects, and that some of us have taken the Names of *Lutherans*, and others of * *Zuinglians* (or *Calvinists*) and we could never yet agree amongst our selves concerning the Articles of our Doctrines. What would they have said if they had lived in the Times of the Apostles and Holy Fathers? When one said I am of *Paul*, another, I am of *Cephas*, and another, I am of *Apollo*; when *St. Paul* reprehended *St. Peter*; when by reason of a Quarrel, *Paul* and *Barnabas* separated one from the other, and went several ways; when as *Origen* acquaints us, the Christians were divided into so many Factions, that they had no Name common to them, but that of *Christian*, and they agreed in nothing else but that Name; and as *Socrates* informs us, they were derided publickly in the Theaters by the People, for their Dissensions and Sects; and when, as *Constantine the*

* Those who were call'd *Zuinglians* when this Piece was written, afterwards were call'd *Calvinists*, and the other Name is now not commonly known, but *Zuinglius* was the Author of the Doctrine, and *calvin* of the Discipline of this Sect of turbulent men.

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Great said, there was so many Contentions and Controversies in the Church, that this very single Calamity seem'd to exceed the Miseries of the former times (of Persecution;) when *Theophilus*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyrisostom*, *Augustin*, *Ruffinus*, and *St. Jerome*, all of them Christians, all Fathers, and all Catholicks, contested each others with most violent and implacable Animosities; when, as *Naxianzen* saith, the Members of the same Body consumed one another; when the Eastern and Western Churches contended about Leavened Bread, and the time of keeping Easter, things of no mighty consequence; when in every Council (which were then numerous) there was a new Creed, and new and contrary Decrees minted. What would these men have then said? to whom would they have applied themselves? from whom would they have fled? in what Gospel would they have believed? whom would they have esteemed Catholicks, and whom Hereticks? Now there are only two Names, *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and what a Noise is made about them! But because these two could not agree about some Points; shall we therefore think they are both in the wrong, that neither of them has the Gospel, and that neither has preached well and truly?

6. BUT O good God! who are they that so bitterly reflect on us for our Dissentions? Do they in the mean time all agree amongst themselves? Have there never been any Dissensions and Controversies amongst them? Why then do the *Scotists* and *Thomists* agree no better concerning the Merit of Congruity, and that of *Condignity*; concerning
Original

Original Sin in the *Virgin Mary*; and about a *solemn and simple Vow*? Why do the Canonists affirm, that Auricular Confession is founded in Humane and Positive Laws; and the Schoolmen on the contrary, on Divine Institution? Why does *Albertus Pighius* differ from *Cajetan*; *Thomas* from *Lombard*, *Scotus* from *Thomas*, *Oeccham* from *Scotus*, *Alliacensu* from *Oeccham*, and the *Nominalls* from the *Realists*? and that I may not mention the Disagreements of the small Brotherhoods and Monks, some of which, place their admired Sanctity in eating of Fish, others in living upon Herbs, some in wearing of Shooes, others in Sandals; some in Linnen Garments, and others in Woollen; some in black, and some in white Cloaths; some shave their Heads broad, and others narrow; some wear Shooes, and others go barefoot; some are girded, and some go loose; besides these, they should remember that some of their Divines say, that the Body of Christ is *naturally* present in the Sacrament, which is again denied by others; that then there are some who say, that the Body of Christ in the Sacrament is torn and ground with our Teeth; and again, there are others who deny this; there are some who say, that the Body in the Sacrament hath quantity, others deny it; some say Christ did consecrate by a certain Divine Power, others that he did it by his Blessing; some that he did it by conceiving the five Words in his Mind, others that it was by uttering them; there be some that say, that of these five Words, the demonstrative Pronoun, **THIS**; shewed the Wheaten Bread,

others

Steven Gardiner, in *Sophist. Diab.*

Richard Faber. *Recantatio Berengarii Scholer Glossa.*

Guimundus.

De Consecral.

Dist. 2. Ego

Berengarius.

others say no ; but it relates to a certain *Individuum vagum* (a no Man knows what ;) *Gardiner.*
there be some who say Dogs and Mice may truly and really eat the Body of Christ ? but then there are others who stoutly deny this ; there be some who say the *Accidents* of the Bread and Wine can nourish, and others say the Substance returns again. But why should I add any more ? It is a long and troublesome Business to count up all their Divisions ; the whole Form of this Religion and Doctrine, is to this day controverted and uncertain amongst them who first gave being and entertainment to it ; for they scarce ever agree, except it be as the *Pharisees* and *Saducees*, or as *Herod* and *Pilate* did of old, against Christ.

De consecratione Dist. 2. species Glossa.

7. LET them go then, and put an end to their own Quarrels, *Unity and Agreement* do excellently become Religion ; yet it is no certain and proper sign of the Church of God ; for there was a wonderful Agreement amongst them who worshipped the *Golden Calf*, and amongst those, who with one Voice cried out against our Saviour, *Crucifie him, crucifie him.* Nor are we presently to determine, because there was some Dissentions in the Church of *Corinth* ; or because *St. Paul* differed with *St. Peter*, or *Barnabas* with *St. Paul* ; or that the Christians in the Infancy of the Church, disagreed amongst themselves concerning some things, that therefore there was no Church of God amongst them. Those very men whom they contemptuously call *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, are both of them Christians, and Friends each to others, and Brethren ; they do not disagree about the
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Principles and Foundations of our Religion, concerning God or Christ, or the Holy Ghost, not concerning the manner of our Justification, or of eternal Life; it is only about one Point, and that of no great consequence; nor do we despair, or rather, we do not so much as doubt, but that in a small time an Agreement will ~~be~~ made betwixt them; and tho there are some who now think otherwise than they ought, we hope that laying aside all Passions and Factious Names and Reproaches, God will reveal to them what they now know not, and having better considered and searched into the thing, as it happened heretofore in the Council of *Calcedon*, all the Causes and Fibers of Dissensions shall be pluck'd up by the Roots, and buried in eternal *Oblivion*. Amen.

8. BUT the most insufferable of all their Slanders, is their Pretence that we are impious Men, and have cast off all care of Religion. But this is the less to be regarded, because they who make this Objection, do themselves know, that it is contumelious and false. And *Justin Martyr* writes also, that when the Gospel was first published, and the Name of Christ discovered to the World, that all Christians were then stiled 'Atheists'; that is, Men without a God, or *Attheists*. And when the Holy *Polycarp*, Bishop of *Smyrna*, stood before the Tribunal, the Rabble incited the *Proconsul* to the Slaughter and Destruction of all those who professed the Gospel, with these words, *αἵρεσιν ἄθεοις*, that is, exterminate out of the World those wicked men who have no God. Not that the Christians

*Euseb. H. 3:
Lib. 4.*

ftians had indeed no God, but becaufe they would not adore the Stones and Blocks which were then worfhipped as Gods. But the World now fees plainly what we and ours have fuffered from them, for the Sake of God and our Religion. They have caft us into Goals, and Fire, and Water, and have rol'd themfelves in our Bloods, not becaufe we are Adulterers, or Thieves, or Murtherers, but purely becaufe we imbrace the Gofpel of Jefus Chrift, and put our whole Truft only in the living God; and, O good God! becaufe we truly and juftly complain, that they have for their moft impertinent Traditions, violated the Laws of God; and that thefe Enemies of ours, who knowingly and willingly defpife the Commandments of God, are the haters of the Gofpel, and the Enemies of the Crofs of Chrift.

9. NOW thefe Men, when they faw they could fix no Slanders upon our *Doctrines*, then they began to declaim againft our Manners; *that we hated all good Works, that we made way for Diforder and Luxury, and did drive the People off from all Care and Exerctfe of Virtue.* And certainly the Lives of all Men, even thofe of the moft Holy and Chriftian Men, now are, and ever were, even in the beft and moft chaft ftate of things, liable to fome exceptions on that account; and fuch is the Propenſity of men to do Ill on the one ſide, and the Proneneſs of all to Suſpicion on the other, that many things which were never done nor thought of, have yet been pretended to be heard, and have obtained a Belief too; and as a ſmall Spot is eaſily ſeen in a
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very white, Garment, so in the purest course of Life, the slightest Note of Turpitude or disorder, is easily taken notice of. Nor do we think our selves, or all those who have imbraced the Reformation, to be Angels, and to live without the least Speck or Unevenness; or that those who hate us, are so blind, that they cannot observe whatever is blameable in us, even through the smallest Chink; or that they are so candid, as that they will put a mild Sense upon any thing; or so ingenious, that they will at any time turn their Eyes upon themselves, and estimate or compare our Manners with their own. But then if we should here run the thing up to the Fountains head, we know that in the Apostles times, there were Christians who made the Name of God to be blasphem'd and evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles.

10. *CONSTANTIUS* the Emperor complains in *Sozomen*, that many after they entered the Christian Church, became worse than they were before. And *St. Cyprian*, in a mournful Oration, describes the Corruptions, of his own times. *Ease and a long Peace* (saith he) *had destroyed that Discipline which the Apostles delivered to us. Men were intent upon the enlarging their Estates, and forgetting what Believers did under the Apostles, and what they ever ought to do; they applied themselves with an insatiable Appetite to the Improvement of their Fortunes. There is not now that devout Piety in the Priests, that sincere Faith in the Ministers, that Compassion in Works of Mercy, that Restraint in Mens Manners; Men colour their Beards, and Women paint their Faces.* And before

By Ministers
here, I suppose the
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before him, *Tertullian*. O wo to us who are now call'd *Christians*! for we live the *Lives* of *Heathens* under that venerable Title.

11. To conclude, and not to trouble the Reader with many Authors, *Gregory Nazianzen* speaks thus, of the deplorable State of his own times. *We are* (said he) *bated by the Heathens now for our Vices, and we are made a Spectacle, not only to Men and Angels, but to the wickedest of Men.* This was the State of the Church of God, when the Light of the Gospel began first to shine upon it, when the Fury of Tyrants was not yet asswaged, or the Sword diverted from the necks of the *Christians*; in truth, it is no wonder that Men are Men, tho they are call'd *Christians*.

CHAP. IV.

Containing an Account of the Rule, Lives, and Manners of the Popes and Papists, who would seem to be the only Head and Members of the Holy Catholick Church.

BUT whilst these men so bitterly reflect upon us, Why do they not sometimes think what they themselves are? Are they who have so much leisure to attend what is done at a distance in *Germany* and *England*, so forgetful or so blind, that they cannot see what is done at *Rome*? Are we to be im-

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peach'd by them whose Lives are so dissolute, as no honest modest man can without blushing tell their Story ?

2. WE do not now intend to bring to light all those Villanies which may much better be buried with them ; it becomes neither our Religion nor our Modesty and Shamefacedness : and yet he that will needs be call'd the *Vicar of Jesus Christ*, and the *Head of the Church*, may easily consider with himself what those things are, which he hears, and sees, and suffers to be done at *Rome* ; for we will go no further in giving an account what they are : Let him make use of his own Memory. Let him be pleased to consider that they are his own *Canonists* who have taught the People, that *simple Fornication is no Sin* ; as if they had learned from the heathen *Comedian*, this Doctrine, that it is not a sin for a young Man to Whore. Let him consider they are his own again, who have determined, that a Priest is not to be deposed for Fornication. Let him remember that Cardinal *Campesius*, *Albertus Pighius*, and many others of his Lawyers, have taught, that the Priest who keeps a Concubine, lives much more chastely and holily than he who has a lawful Wife. I hope he hath not forgotten that there is at *Rome* many thousands of publick licensed Whores, and that he levies upon them yearly, by way of Tax, thirty thousand Duccats. He cannot forget surely that himself is a publick Pimp, and from this base Profit, doth as dishonorably and wickedly encrease his Revenue and Pleasures. Were all things well and Holy at *Rome*, when Pope *Joan*, a Woman of a

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dissolute Life, was the Head of their Church, and when for two years she had in that Holy See prostituted her self to the Lust of others ; at length, in a publick Procession, in the sight of all the Cardinals and Bishops, in the open Street she brought forth a Child ?

3. BUT why should we mention their Concubines and Pimping ? for these are common and publick Crimes at Rome, and not unprofitable neither ; for the *Misses* there do not sit without the Gates with their Faces

Gen. 38. 14.

veiled and covered as in ancient times, but they dwell in Pallaces and stately Houses, and pass to and fro in the most publick Streets without Masks, as if their Trade were not

In Concilio dilectorum Cardinalium. To. 3.

only Lawful but Honorable ; but why should I use many words, their Lusts are sufficiently known to the whole Earth. St. Bernard

writes thus truly and freely of the Popes Family, and of the Pope himself. Your Court

De consideratione receives good Men sometimes, but it makes none *one ad Eugenium.*

good. Evil Men thrive there, good Men are ruined. And whoever he was who wrote the

Tripartite Work, which is commonly joyned to the Lateran Council, he saith thus : There

is now so prevailing a Luxury, not only in the inferior Clergy and Priests, but also in the Prelates and Bishops, that it strikes Horror into the Hearers of it.

4. BUT these things are not only usual, and even for the sake of the Custom approved (as most of their Vices are ;) but they are now become so well known by their long use, that they are putrid ripe for Judgment. For who has not heard what Petrus Aloisius, the Son of Paul the III. designed against Cosmus

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Cherius, Bishop of *Fano*? What *Jo. Casa* Arch-Bishop of *Benevento*, the Popes Legate at *Venice* wrote of a Sin to be abhorred; whilst with a lewd Eloquence and abominable Words, he commends what ought not to be named. Who knows not that *Alphonfus Diazius* a Spaniard, was sent from *Rome* into *Germany* of purpose to murder the most innocent and holy Man *John Diazius* his own Brother, only because he had imbraced the Gospel, and would not return to *Rome*, which he accordingly did? But they may pretend perhaps that such things as these are, may sometimes happen in the best constituted Governments, and that there is excellent Laws against them.

5. Be it so, But what Law passed upon these Pests? *Petrus Aloisius*, when he had attempted the Villany I have hinted at, was ever after in the Bosom of *Paul* the III. his Father, and his Joy. *Diazius*, after he had assassinated his Brother, was delivered out of the hands of the Law, by the Interposition of the Pope. *Jobannes Casa*, Arch-Bishop of *Benevento*, is yet alive, and at *Rome*, and lives under the Eyes, and in the Sight of his Holiness. They have slain infinite numbers of our Brethren, only because they truly and purely believed in *Jesus Christ*; but then of that infinite number of Harlots, Sodomites and Adulterers, who have they at any time, I will not say slain, but excommunicated, or so much as touched? What are Fornications, Adulteries, Pimping, Sodomy, Parricides, Incests and the like, no Sins at *Rome*? or if they be, why are they so easily born, as if they

they were not Sins, in the City of *Rome*, that Bulwark of Sanctity; and by the Pope, *the Vicar of Christ, the Successor of St. Peter, that most holy Father.*

6. O Holy Scribes and Pharisees, to whom this Sanctity was never known! O Sanctity and Catholick Faith! St. Peter did never teach these things at *Rome*, nor St. Paul live there at this rate. They did not publickly exercise the Trade of Pimping, they took no Tribute of the Whores; they did not openly and freely tolerate Adulterers and Parricides; they did not admit them into their Bosoms, their Families, their Councils, nor into the Congregations of Christian Men. These Men ought not to have aggravated so much the Faults of our Lives; it had been much better to have approved their own to the World, or at least, to have concealed them a little more from the Eyes of Men.

7. FOR as for us, we retain and use our ancient Paternal Laws; and administer Church Discipline seriously and diligently as far as we possibly can, in so much Corruption of all things, both as to Manners and Times; we have no *Stews* nor Herds of Harlots and Concubines; nor do we prefer Adulteries before Marriage, nor do we exercise Pimping, nor raise Money from Whorehouses; neither do we suffer Incests and flagitious Lusts; our *Aloise's*, or our *Casa's*, or our Parricidal murdering *Diasio's* do not go unpunished; for if these things had pleased us, there had been no occasion of separating from the Society of those Men, where these (rare) things flourish and are in great

Paul III.

esteem, and so we had also escaped the Hatred of Men, and the apparent Dangers we have run into by our Departure from them. It is not many months since *Paul* the IV. had some Monks of the *Augustine* Order in Prison at *Rome*, and many Bishops, and a vast number of pious Men for the sake of Religion; he exercised his Tortures and his *Racks*, and left nothing untried, and at the last, how many Adulterers, how many Sodomites, how many Fornicators, how many Incestuous Men did he find amongst them? Blessed be God, tho we are not what we should be, nor what we profess to be, yet what ever we are, if we be compared with these, our very Lives and Innocency will easily confute all these Slanders. For we excite the People, not only by Books and Sermons, but by Example and good Manners, to all sorts of Virtues and good Works. We teach that the Gospel is not an Ostentation of Knowledge, but a Law of Life; and that as *Tertullian* expresseth it, *Christian should not speak great things, but live them, and that not the Hearers, but the Doers of the Law shall be justified before God.*

In Apol. c. 45.
Rom. 2. 13.

8. To all these things they commonly add and amplifie it too with all manner of Reproaches, that we are a turbulent sort of Men, that we snatch the Scepters out of the Hands of Princes, arm the People against them, subvert their Judicatories and Courts of Justice, and endeavour to reduce Monarchies to popular States or Common-wealths, dissolve the Laws and retrench the Revenues of Princes, and turn all things topsie turvy, and that in short, if we had our Wills, there should nothing continue

fall

safe in the Governments of the World. O how often have they by such Pretences incensed the Minds of Princes against us, that so they might crush the Reformation in its first springing up, and Princes might be possess'd with an Aversion for our Religion, before they knew what it was? and that Magistrates might entertain an Opinion, that when ever they saw one of us, they saw one of their Enemies?

9. IT would have been a great Affliction to us, to be thus hatefully accused of so great a Crime as *Treason*, but that we know that Christ himself and his Apostles, and an infinite number of other pious Christians have been made the Objects of publick Envy on the same Pretence; for Christ, tho he commanded to *render unto Cæsar the things that* Math. 22. 21. *were Cæsars*, yet he was accused of Sedition, in that he was said to design a Change in the Government, and to affect and intend a Kingdom; and so they loudly charged him before the Tribunal of *Pilate*, *If thou lettest* John. 19. 12. *this man go* (say they) *thou art no Friend to Cæsar*. And the Apostles, altho they constantly taught that we ought to obey Magistrates, and that every Soul should be subject to the *Higher Powers*, and that not only for Rom. 13. 1. fear of Wrath and Punishment, but also for Conscience sake; yet they were said to stir up the People, and to incite the Multitude to Rebellion. *Haman* brought the *Jews* into the disfavour of *Assuerus*, by representing them as a stubborn and rebellious People, that despised the Edicts and Laws of Princes. The wicked King *Abab*, charged *Elijah* the

Amos 7: 10.

Prophet of God that he troubled *Israel*. *Amasias* the Priest of *Bethel*, accused *Amos* the Prophet, of a Conspiracy before *Jeroboam*. And behold, saith he, *Amos* hath conspired against thee in the midst of the House of *Israel*, and the Land is not able to bear all his Words. In short, *Tertullian* saith this was the general Accusation against all Christians in his times, that they were Traitors, Plotters, and the common Enemies of Mankind. And therefore if Truth, which is still the same, suffers the same Reproaches as it did formerly, it may indeed seem troublesome and uneasy, but it is not new or unusual.

10. **LT** was easie forty years ago, to fix such Slanders upon the then rising and unknown Truth, when the first Rays of it burst forth in the midst of so great a Darknes, and few men had heard what Doctrines were taught. When *Martin Luther*, and *Huldricus Zuinglius*, two excellent Persons, who were given by God to enlighten the World, began first to preach the Gospel; when the Thing was new, and the Event uncertain, and the Minds of Men surpris'd and unsetled, and their Ears open to all manner of Calumnies; and it was not possible to invent that Defamation of us which would not be believed by the People, even upon the Account of the Novelty and strangeness of the thing. And so it was in the more ancient times; the first opposers of Christianity, *Symmachus*, *Celsus*, *Julianus*, and *Porphyrius*, represented the Primitive Christians as a seditious and rebellious Sect, before either Princes or People knew well what the Christians were.

were, or what they professed, or what they would have. But now when our Enemies may see, and cannot deny that in all our Words and Writings, we diligently admonish the People of their Duty; that they should obey their Princes and Magistrates, tho' they are wicked men, which is also confirm'd by Experience, and seen and observed by all the World; certainly (I say) it is now a senseless thing to attempt to make us odious by a parcel of superannuated over-worn Lyes, when they have no new and fresh Crimes to lay to our Charge.

II. WE bless our gracious God, whose Cause this is, that there hath yet been no Example of any Insurrection or Rebellion in any of those Countries, Kingdoms or Commonwealths which have imbraced the Reformation. We have not subverted any Monarchy, we have not diminished any Princes Jurisdiction or Rights, we have not troubled any Commonwealth. The Kings of *England*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, the Counts of the *Palatinate*, the Marquesses of *Brandenburgh*, the Landgraves of *Hessia*, the Commonwealths of the *Switzers*,

It had been infinitely for the Honor of the Reformation, if the same Modesty, Loyalty, and Duty had ever attended the Professors of it. But alas, our Author lived and wrote in a critical Moment, before the Scotch

Tumults, the Civil Wars of *France*, and the Revolt of the *Netherlands*; those that have confirm'd the truth of the Popish Objections by ill Principles which they borrowed from them and worse Practices, shall do well to consider what Answer they will be able to give in the Day of Judgment, for the Sin and Scandal they have brought upon the Reformation; but when all is done, blessed be God, the Church of *England* and her Children have maintained this Doctrine inviolably, and the Honour of that Church thereby unspotted to this day, though she has suffered very much for her Fidelity and Loyalty.

The Apology of the

the free Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basil*, *Frankfort*, *Ulm*, *Augsburg*, and *Norimburg* are all in the same State they were before the Reformation; or rather, because the People are now better instructed in the matters of Obedience to their Governours than they were before, in a better State. Let our Defamers go into those places where the Gospel is settled by the Blessing of God, and then tell us where Princes have more Majesty? Where there is less Pride and Tyranny? Where are Princes treated with more Respect? Where the People are less Tumultuous? Where the Civil Government or Ecclesiastical was ever in greater Tranquillity?

12. BUT you will say the Boors of *Germany* fell into Tumults and Insurrections upon the first preaching of this Doctrine. Be it granted, but then *Martin Luther*, the first Divulger of it, did with great vehemence and sharpness write against them, and reduced them to their Allegiance and Duty.

13. AND whereas some ignorant men have objected that the *Switzers* murdered *Leopold* the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and changing the State, erected a Common-wealth, and so freed their Country; this was done, as appears by all Histories, above two hundred and sixty years since, under *Boniface* the 8th. when the Papal Power was at the highest, about two hundred years before *Huldericus Zuinglius* began to preach the Gospel, or indeed was born. But from that time to this, all things there have been in the greatest Tranquillity and Quiet that was possible, not only in relation to foreign Wars, but intestine Commotions;

tions; so that if it were a sin to deliver their Country from a foreign Dominion, which oppressed them with great Insolence and Tyranny, yet it is unjust and absurd to load the Reformation with the Crimes of others, or them with those of their Fore-fathers.

14. BUT O immortal God! Shall the Bishop of *Rome* accuse us of Treason? Will he pretend to teach the People Subjection and Obedience to Magistrates? Or has he any regard to Majesty? Why then does he suffer himself to be call'd by his Flatterers the LORD OF LORDS, which none of the ancient Bishops of *Rome* ever did; as if he would have all Kings and Princes whoever they were, and wheresoever, be no better than his Vassals and Slaves? Why does he boast that he is the KING OF KINGS, and that he has the Right of commanding them as his Subjects? Why does he force Emperors and Monarchs to swear Obedience to him? Why does he boast that his own Majesty is seventy seven times greater than the Majesty of the Emperor, and that forsooth, because God made two great Lights in Heaven, and because the Heavens and the Earth had not two several, but one single Beginning? Why have he and his Followers in that, like the *Anabaptists* and *Libertines*, shaken off the Yoke, and exempted themselves from the Jurisdiction of all Civil Powers, that they might with the greater liberty and security plague the World?

15. WHY has he his *Legats*, that is, a crafty sort of Spies, as it were in ambush, in the Courts, Councils and Chambers of all Kings?

Augustus Streuchus Anto. de Rosellin.

De major & obed. solit.

De major & obed. Unam Sanctam.

Clement. 3.
in Concil Vien-
nensi Leo papa.

Zacharias Pa-
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Kings? Why doth he (as his Interest requires) set Princes at variance amongst themselves; and at his pleasure, fill the Earth with Seditions? Why does he proscribe and take for an Heathen and Pagan, whatever Prince withdraws himself from his Dominion, and promise his Indulgences so freely, if any man will by any means whatsoever assassinate his Enemies? Doth he preserve Empires and Kingdoms, or at all consult and desire the Publick Peace? You ought, O pious Reader! to pardon us, if these things seem a little more sharp and eager than becomes a Divine; for so great is the Provocation, so great and so impotent with all is the Ambition of the Popes, that it cannot be expressed in other or milder Words. For he had once the Insolence to say in a publick Council, *that all the Authority of all the Kings in the World depended upon him.* He, out of Ambition and Desire to Rule, distracted the Roman Empire, and tore in pieces the Christian World; he absolved the *Italians*, and amongst them, himself, from the Oath wherein they were obliged to the Emperor of *Greece*, with great perfidy; and solicited his Subjects to revolt from him, and call'd *Charles Martell the Great* out of *France* into *Italy*; and after a new and till then unheard of manner, made him Emperor. He deposed *Cbilperick* King of *France*, an innocent Prince, only because he did not like him, and set up *Pipin* in his Place. He would, if he had been able, have cast out *Phillip the Fair*, another King of *France*, and have adjudged the Kingdom of *France* to *Albert* King of the *Romans*. He broke

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the Power of *Florence*, tho his own Country, *Clemens Pa.*
 which was then a most flourishing City, and *Pa. 7.*
 changing its free and peaceable State, he delivered it up to the Lust of one man. He made all *Savoy* to be torn in pieces by the *Emperor Charles* the 5th. on the one side, and *Francis* the First, King of *France* on the other, The same
 scarce leaving to the miserable *Duke*, one *Clemens.*
 City to shelter himself in.

16. I am weary of Examples, and indeed there is nothing more troublesome than to enumerate the great Actions of the Popes of *Rome* of this nature. I pray of whose Party were they, who poisoned the *Emperor Henry* the 7th. in the Eucharist? and they who did the same to *Pope Victor*. in the holy *Chalice*? Who exercised the same Art upon our King *John* of *England*, in a common Table Cup? whoever they were, and of what Party soever, this is certain, they were neither *Lutherans* nor *Zuinglians*. Who is it, that at this day permits the greatest Kings and Monarchs to kiss his Feet? Who is it that commands the *Emperor* to hold his *Bridle*, and the King of *France* his *Stirrup*? Who was it that cast *Francis Dandalus*, Duke of *Venice*, and King *Sabellicus.*
 of *Crete* and *Cyprus* under his Table, to gnaw the Bones with the Dogs? who crowned *Henry* the 6th. the *Emperor* at *Rome*, not *Cælestinus*
 with his Hands, but with his Feet; and then *Papa.*
 with his Foot kicked his Crown off again; adding, that *he had power to create Emperors and to depose them*? Who armed *Henry* the Son against *Henry* the 4th. his Father; and *Hildebrandus*
 caused the Son to take his Father Prisoner, *Papa.*
 and having shaven and treated him ignominiously,

Pfal. 91. 13.

niously, to cast him into a Monastery, where he pined away with Hunger and Sorrow? who was it that trod insolently upon the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick*; and as if this had not been a sufficient Affront, subjoyned out of the Psalms of *David*, *Thou shalt walk upon the Asp, and the Basilisk, and shalt tread the Lion and the Dragon under thy Feet*. Where is there such another Example of despised and injured Majesty, in all History, except in *Tamberlane the Scythian*, a fierce and a barbarous Prince, and in *Saphores, King of Persia*? All these were Popes, all of them Successors of *St. Peter*; all most Holy Men, whose Words were every one of them to be Gospel to us.

17. IF we be guilty of Treason, who reverence our Princes, who submit to them in all things as far as the Scriptures will permit us; what then are these Men, who have not only done all these base things, but have also extol'd them as generous Actions? Do they thus teach the People to revere Magistrates? or can they with any Modesty, accuse us of being Seditious Men, the Disturbers of the Publick Peace, and Contemnners of the Majesty of Princes? For as for us, none of us shake off the Yoke, nor imbroil Kingdoms, nor dispose of Empires; nor do we reach Poison to our Kings, nor put out our Feet to them to kiss, nor do we insultingly tread upon their Necks. No, our Profession, our Doctrine is this, *That every Soul, whose ever it is, whether it be a Monk or an Evangelist, or a Prophet, or an Apostle, it ought to be subject to Kings and Magistrates*; and so the Pope himself,

Chrysostomus
13. ad Rom.

self, except he affect to seem greater than the Evangelists, Prophets and Apostles, ought to acknowledge and call the Emperor his Lord, as the ancient Popes in better times ever have done. We publicly teach, that Princes are to be obeyed as Men sent by God, *Gregorius sape in epist. Rom. 13. 2.* and *whosoever resists them, resists the Ordinance of God.* These are our Doctrines, these Principles shine forth in our Books, in our Sermons, in our Lives, and in the Modesty and dutiful behaviour of our People.

18. AND whereas they pretend we have departed from the Unity of the Catholick Church, this is not only odious, but tho it is not true, yet it hath an appearance and similitude of Truth in it. But then, not only those things which are true and certain find belief with the ignorant Multitude, but those things also which may seem probable; and so we shall ever observe, that crafty cunning Men, who had not the Truth on their sides, have ever maintained their Cause with the Resemblances of Truth; that those who could not dive into the bottom of things, might be taken at least with the shew and probability of their Arguments. Because the Primitive Christians, our Fore-fathers, when they Prayed to God, turned their Faces toward the rising Sun; there were some that said they worshiped the Sun, and that it was their GOD; and because they said, that as to their eternal and immortal Life, they lived on nothing but the Flesh and Blood of the Lamb without spot, meaning thereby our Saviour Jesus Christ: Envious Men, the Enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose only business

Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 16.

Tertul. in
Apolog. cap. 7.
8, 9.

Idem. cap. 39.

sinews it was, to render the Christian Religion by any means hateful, did thereupon perswade the People that the Christians were impious Men; that they offered Humane Sacrifices, and drank Mans Blood; and when the Christians said with God, there is neither Male nor Female, that is, that as to the obtaining of Justification, there is no distinction of Persons, and did salute one another commonly by the Names of Brother and Sister; there were not wanting some who slandered the Christians thereupon, and said, they made no distinction amongst them of Sex or Age, but like Beasts, promiscuously lay together. And when they met frequently in Vaults and secret places to Pray and hear the Gospel, which sort of private Places and Meetings, had sometimes been made use of by Conspirators against the Government; there was thereupon a Rumor spread abroad, that they conspired together, and had secret Consultations about murdering the Magistrates and subverting the Government. And because in celebrating the Holy Communion, they made use of Bread and Wine, according to the Institution of Christ, they were thought by many not to worship Christ, but *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, because those heathen Deities were worshiped by the *Pagans* with a like Rite, with *Bread* and *Wine*. These things were then believed by many, not because they were true (for what could possibly be less so?) but because they had a kind of resemblance of Truth, and by that shew of truth were fitted to deceive them.

18. SO they traduce us, and say, that as Hereticks we have departed from the Uniry of the Catholick Church, and the Communion of Christ ; not that they believe this to be true (nor are they at all concern'd whether it be true or false) but because the thing may in some sort seem true to ignorant Men ; for we have indeed departed, not as Hereticks ever have done, from the Church of Christ ; but, as good men ought to do, from the Contagion of wicked Men and Hypocrites ; and yet here they insult wonderfully, that theirs is the Church, the Spouse of Christ, the Pillar of Truth, the Ark of *Noah*, out of which, no Salvation is to be hoped for ; and in the interim, they assert with the same Confidence, that we have revolted, that we have rent the Coat of Christ, and torn our selves from his Body, and made a defection from the Catholick Faith. And when they have thus left nothing unsaid, which can possibly be (tho never so falsely and slanderously) objected against us, yet at last they cannot pretend that we have forsaken the Word of God, or the Apostles of Christ, or the Primitive Church.

19. NOW we have ever thought, that the Primitive Church which was in the times of Christ and the Apostles and holy Fathers, was the Catholick Church. Nor do we doubt, but that that Church is the Ark of *Noah*, the Spouse of Christ, the Pillar and Foundation of Truth ; or to place in it all the Hopes of our Salvation. It is indeed an odious thing to break off and depart from that Society a Man has long lived in, especia-

ally if that Society consist of Men who seem to be, and are therefore called Christians, tho in truth they are none. And in reality, we do not so condemn their Church, as bad as it now is, (for the Name sake, and ~~the~~ ^{because} Gospel of Jesus Christ was once truly and purely taught there) as that we have willingly departed from it without necessity. But what if an Idol be set up in the Church of God, and that Desolation appears there, which Christ foretold should stand in the holy Place? What if some Pirate or Robber possesseth himself of the Ark of Noah? certainly, as often as these men thus preach to us of the Church, they make themselves only to be that Church, and ascribe all those glorious Titles to themselves, and triumph like those of Old, who cryed *The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*; or like the Scribes and Pharisees, when they boasted they were the Children of *Abraham*.

Jerem. 7. 4.

John 8. 39.

20. THUS do they impose upon silly men, by vain and useless Shews, and seek to overwhelm us with the meer Name of the Church; just as if a Thief having got possession of another mans House, and having by force expell'd or slain the true Owner should afterwards claim it as his own, and keep the true Heir out; or as if Antichrist after he has seized the Temple of God should afterwards pretend it were his own, and that Christ had no right to it. For our Adversaries have left almost nothing like a Church, in the Church of God, yet they will needs seem the only Patrons and Defenders of the Church; just as *Gracchus* defended

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the Roman *Exchequer*, by making such profuse Largeſſes, and ſuch unreaſonable Expences, that he quite ruined the Publick Treafury. But then there was never any thing yet ſo abſurd or wicked, but it might ſeem eaſie to be covered and defended by the Name of the *Church*; for Waſps make Combs, and impious Men have their Aſſemblies not much unlike the Churches. But they are not preſently the People of God who are call'd ſo, nor are they all *Iſraelites* who are of *Iſrael*. The *Arrian* Hereticks boated that they only were Catholicks, and they call'd all the reſt, ſometimes *Ambroſians*, and at other *Athanaſians*, and *Johannites*. And *Theodore* tells us, that tho *Nestorius* was an Heretick, yet he covered himſelf & ἐπεδεδέκηκε μεσσηνίαν, with the Pretence and Cloak of the Orthodox Faith. *Ebion*, tho he was of the ſame Opinion with the *Samaritans*, yet, as *Epiphanius* aſſures us, he would needs be call'd a *Chriſtian*. The *Mahometans* at this day, tho it is clear from all Hiſtories, and they themſelves cannot deny it, that they are deſcended from *Hagar*; yet, as if they were the Children of *Sarah* the free Woman, the Wife of *Abraham*, they will needs, for the Name and Race ſake, be call'd *Saracens*.

Augustin. Ep.
48. ad Vin-
centium.

21. SO the falſe Prophets in all times, who oppoſed themſelves to the true Prophets of God, to *Iſaiab*, to *Jeremias*, to *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, boated of nothing ſo much as of the Name of the *Church*: Nor did they ſo cruelly perſecute them, and call them Deſerters and Apoſtles upon any other account ſo much, as becauſe they departed from their

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Society, and would not observe the Customs of their Ancestors. And if we be obliged to submit to the Judgment of those Men, who then governed the Church, and will regard neither God nor his Word, nor any thing else, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles made Defection from the High Priests and Priests, that is, from the Catholic Church, and without, and against their Wills, innovated in many things which pertained to Religion, and consequently were rightly condemned according to the Law. And so as they say, *Antæus* was to be lifted by *Hercules* from the *Earth* his Mother, before he could be conquered by him: So our Adversaries are to be lifted up from that Mother of theirs, the vain Pretence and Shadow of the Church, or else they will never yield to the Word of God. So as *Jeremiab* saith, do not so much boast that you have the Temple of God with yon, that Confidence is Vain. *Jeremiah 8. 4.* *for these are (saith he) lying Words.* And the Angel in the *Apocalyps*; they say that they are *Jews*, but they are the *Synagogue of Sathan*. And when the Pharisees boasted that they were the Stock and Blood of *Abraham*, *Christ* told them *they were of the Devil their Father* for you do not resemble *Abraham* your Father; as if he should have said, you are not what you so much desire to be call'd, yet impose upon the People by vain Titles; and abuse the Name of the Church to the Ruin of the Church; and therefore they ought in the first place to prove this truly and plainly to us, *viz.* that the Church of *Rome*, as it is now managed by them, is the true and

Jeremiah 8. 4.

Revel. 2. 9.

John 8. 44.

rhoda

thodox Church of God, and that it agrees with the Primitive Church of Christ and his Apostles, and of the Holy Fathers; which Primitive Church, we doubt not was the Catholick Church. We indeed will readily grant, that there is no cause why we should forsake their Society, if we could once persuade our selves that Ignorance, Error, Superstition, the Worship of Idols, the Inventions of Men, and they very often quite contrary to the Holy Scriptures, did either please God, or sufficiently promote our Salvation; or if we could once believe that the Word of God were only written for some years, and after that were to be abrogated; or that the Words and Laws of God, were intirely to be submitted to the Wills of Men; so as whatever he saith or commandeth, except the Bishop of *Rome* wills and commands the same too, it were to be esteemed void and not spoken. But in that we have departed from a Church, whose Errors are attested and manifest, and which has apparently departed from the Word of God; and whereas we have not so much departed from her as from her Errors, and that not turbulently and injuriously, but quietly and modestly; in all this, we say we have done nothing contrary to Christ and his Apostles: For the Church of God is not of that nature, that it cannot possibly be darkened with any Spots, or sometimes not need a Reformation; for if it were so, what need were there of all those Councils and great Meetings, without which, as *Aegidius* saith, the Christian Faith cannot stand? for (saith he) as often as Councils are

*In Lateran.
Concil. sub
inter-lio.*

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intermitted, so often is the Church left by Christ. Or if there be no danger, that the Church can take damage; what need is there of the insignificant (as they have ordered the Matter) Name of Bishops? Why are they call'd Pastors, if there be no Sheep that can go astray? Why are they call'd Watch-men, if there be no City that can be betrayed? Why Pillars, if there be nothing that can sink down into Ruine, when not supported by them? In the very beginning of the World, the Church of God was begun, and she was then instructed by a heavenly Word, which God sent out of his own Mouth; She was furnished with Ceremonies, taught by the Spirit of God, by the Patriarchs and Prophets, and so she was preserved and brought down to those times, in which Christ shewed himself in the Flesh.

22. BUT O immortal God! How often was She in the mean time, and how horribly darkned and diminished? For where was She when all Flesh had corrupted their way upon the Earth? Where was She when there was only eight Persons, and not all those neither Chast and Pious, whom God was pleased to rescue out of a common Ruine, and preserve alive in a general Destruction? What *Elijah* so bitterly and mournfully complained that he only was left of all the Earth, who did truly and rightly worship God. What *Isaiab* said, the Silver of the People of God that is, the Church, was become Dross, and the once Faithful City was become an Harlot, and that in her, from the Head, to the Sole of the Foot, there was no soundness in her whole Body.

2 Kings 19.

Isaiab 1. 22.

Body ; or when Christ said, that the House of God, was by the Scribes and Pharisees turn'd into a Den of Thieves ? for the Church of Christ, like a Corn-field, if it be not ploughed and broken, tilled and dressed, instead of Wheat it will bring forth *Thistles, Darnel, and Nettles*. And therefore God from time to time, sent Prophets and Messengers, and at last Christ himself, to reduce the People into the right way, and to restore the sinking Church to her former Strength and Beauty. And now let no man say these things could only happen under the Law, when the Church was under the Shadow, and in her Infancy ; when Truth was covered with Figures and Ceremonies, and nothing was yet brought to perfection ; when the Law was not written on the Hearts of Men ; but on Tables of Stone : (tho this Pretence is very ridiculous) for there was then the same God, the same Christ, the same Spirit, the same Doctrine, the same Faith the same Hope, the same Inheritance, the same Covenant, and the same efficacy in the Word of God. And *Eusebius* saith, that all the Faithful from *Adam* were indeed *Christians* (tho they were not so call'd.) Let no man I say, speak thus, for *St. Paul* the Apostle found the same Errors and Defects under the Gospel, in the highest Perfection and the greatest Light ; so that he was forced to write thus to the *Galatians*, whom he had just before settled, *I am afraid of you, Cap. 4. v. 11. least I have bestowed upon you Labour in vain,* and that you have to no purpose heard the Gospel ; *O my little Children, of whom I travel V. 19. in Birth again, until Christ be formed in you !*

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For there is no need of speaking how fearfully the Church of *Corinth* was corrupted. And now could the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth* fall, and is the Church of *Rome* the only Church that can neither fall nor err? Certainly Christ long since foretold concerning his Church, that there should be a time, when the Abomination of Desolation should stand in the Holy Place. And St. Paul saith, Math. 24. 15. that Antichrist shall sit in the Temple of God, 2 Thes. 2. 4. shewing himself that he is God. And the time 2 Tim. 4. 3. 4. will come, when men will not indure sound Doctrine, but in the Church, shall be turned unto Fables. And St. Peter saith, there shall be in 2 Pet. 2. 1. the Church false Teachers; and Daniel the Prophet saith of the last times, the Days of Antichrist, the Truth shall be cast down and trodden upon in the Earth. And Christ saith, there shall be such great Calamities and Con- Math. 24. 24. fusions upon the Earth, that the very Elect (if it were possible) shall be deceived. Now all these things are to come to pass, not amongst Pagans and Turks, but in the Holy Place, the Temple of God, in the Church, the Assembly and Society of Christians.

23. AND altho these things alone are sufficient to forewarn a wise man, not to suffer himself easily to be imposed upon by the Name of the Church, so as not to examine it by the Word of God, yet besides all this, many of the Fathers and pious and learned Men have oftentimes grievously complain'd that these Predictions were come to pass in their times. For God, in the midst of that Darkness, would that there should be some men, who should as Sparks be observed by Men,

Men, tho they could not give them a very clear and bright Light. Certainly *Hilarius*, when things were in some sort sincere and uncorrupted, tells them, *that they did ill in doating upon Walls; that they were mistaken in venerating Houses and Buildings, as if they were the Church of God, and offering them to us instead of Peace.* Is it doubtful (saith he) whether *Anticrist* shall sit there? *The Mountains, Woods, Lakes, Prisons and Gulphs to me seem safer, because the Prophets of God remaining willingly, or being forcibly put into them, prophecied by the Spirit of God.* *Gregory the Great*, as if he then perceived and foresaw the Ruine that was near at hand, wrote thus to *John Bishop of Constantinople*, who first commanded himself to be call'd by the Name of the *Universal Bishop*, *If the Church should depend upon one man, it would certainly fall.* And who is there that hath not observed that this is 'come long since to pass? It is a great while since the Bishop of *Rome* would have the whole Church depend upon him only, and therefore it is no wonder if it be long since fallen. *St. Bernard* above four hundred years ago said, *there is nothing sound in the Clergy now, therefore there is nothing remaining but the Revelation of the Man of Sin; and in his Sermon on the Conversion of St. Paul, he expresseth himself thus. It may seem perhaps to some, that Persecutions are ceased: No (saith he) they now begin from them who have obtained the Primacy in the Church; thy Friends and thy Neighbours have approached and stood against thee, from the Sole of the Foot to the Crown of the Head; there is no Soundness; Iniquity is proceeded from thy Elders,*

Contra Maxentium.

Epistola ad Mauricium lib. 4. Epist. 32.

Sermon 33.

*In libello de
idiomate Lin-
guarum.*

Gerson.

*Fratres Lug-
dunenses.*Adrian in Pla-
tina.

Pighius.

Elders, Judges and Vicars, who seem'd to govern thy People. We cannot now say, as the People are, so is the Priest, because the People are not so bad as the Priests. Alas, alas, O Lord God! they are the first in persecuting thee, who seem to love the Primacy, and exercise a Principality in thy Church. And upon the Canticles, All my Friends, and all my Enemies, all my Acquaintance and all my Adversaries, the Servants of Christ; serve Antichrist. Behold in my Peace, my Bitterness is increased! And Roger Bacon, a man of great Name, when he had in a sharp Discourse represented the miserable State of his own times, concludes thus, *those many and great Errors require Antichrist as near at hand.*

24. GERSON complains, that in his times all the force of Theology was degenerated into a meer contest of Wit and Sophistry. The Lugdunensian Brothers, a sort of men which were not ill as to their Lives, used to affirm, that the Church of Rome, from whence alone the Oracles of Faith were then fetched, was the Whore of Babylon; concerning which, such clear Predictions were in the Revelations, and that she was the Assembly of Hell. I know that the Authority of these Men is in no esteem with them; but what now would they say if I should produce Witnesses which are of the highest Value with them? What if I say that Pope Adrian ingenuously confessed, that all those Mischiefs fell upon the Church from the top of the Papal Power? Pighius confesseth that they erred in this, that they suffered many Abuses to be brought into the Mass, tho they would have it esteemed most Holy.

Holy. *Gerson*, that the multitude of light *Gerson*. foolish Ceremonies, had extinguished all that Power of the Holy Spirit which should have flourished in us, and all that was truly Pious. All *Greece* and *Asia* complained that the Popes of *Rome*, by their Doctrines of Purgatory, and Sales of Indulgences, had both offered Violence to the Consciences of Men, and robb'd their Purfes.

25. *Laurentius Valla*, *Marsilius Patavinus*, *Franciscus Petrarcha*, *Hieronymus Savanarola*, *Abbas Joachimus*, *Baptista Mantuanus*, and before them all, *St. Bernard*, have very often grievously complain'd of the Tyranny and Persian Pride of the Bishops of *Rome*, and have not obscurely hinted (whether true or falsely, I will not inquire) that the Pope was Antichrist; not to mention a number of others, who, because they have freely and ingenuously reprehended the Vices of the Popes, will perhaps be numbred by them amongst their Enemies; but all these I have named, lived either at *Rome* it self, or under the eyes of these most Holy Fathers, and were intimately acquainted with their way of living, and did never depart from their Catholick Faith. Neither can any man object that these were *Lutherans* or *Zwinglians*, for they lived not only some few years, but some intire Ages before the Names of these Men were heard of in the World; and they saw also even then, that Errors were crept into the Church, and desired they might be amended. And where was the Wonder if the Church fell into some Errors in those times, in which neither the Bishop of *Rome*, who alone had
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the chiefeſt Management of Affairs, or almoſt any other Perſons either *did*; or indeed underſtood what was their Duty; for it is not credible, that in that time, in which they were ſo idle and drowſie, the Devil was perpetually a ſleep or idle too. For what kind of men they were, and with what fidelity they took care of the Houſe of God; tho we are ſilent, they may be pleaſed to hear their own *St. Bernard*. *Thoſe Biſhops* (ſaith he) *to whom the Church of God is now committed, are not Teachers, but Seducers; not Paſtors, but Impoſtors; not Prelates, but Pilates.* Thus *St. Bernard* wrote then of him that call'd himſelf the *Great Pontiff*, and of the Biſhops, who then ſate at the Helm. He was no Heretick, he was no *Lutheran*, he never forſook their Church, and yet he never ſtuck at calling thoſe Biſhops they then had, *Seducers, Impoſtors, Pilates*. And now when the People were openly ſeduced, and Chriſtians impoſed upon, and *Pilate* mounted the Tribunal and adjudged Chriſt and his Members to the Fire and Sword; O good God! in what condition was the Church then? And now of ſo many and ſuch groſs Errors, what one Error have they reformed to this day? yea, what one Error have they at any time acknowledged and confeſſed.

26. **BUT** now, whereas they pretend to be in Poſſeſſion of the whole Catholick Church, and call us Hereticks, becauſe we do not agree with them. Let us ſee what Mark that Church hath of the Church of God: Nor is the Church of God very difficult to be found, if you ſeriously and diligently ſeek for it; for it is placed in an high
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and illustrious Place, and built on the top of a Mountain, and the Foundations of it are laid upon the Apostles and Prophets. *There* (saith St. *Augustin*) *let us seek the Church, there let us try our Cause*; and in another place he saith, *the Church is to be shown out of the sacred Scriptures, and whatever* (Society) *cannot derive it self from them, is not the Church.* And yet I know not whence it proceeds, whether from Reverence or Conscience, or a despair of Victory, that these men always dread and shun the Word of God, as much as a Thief does the Gallows; and in truth it is no Wonder, for as they say, a Beetle is presently extinguished in *Opobalsam*, altho it is a most fragrant Oyntment: So they see their Cause is suffocated and ruined when ever it comes near the Scriptures, which are a sort of deadly Poyson to it. Therefore they accustom themselves to call the Holy Scriptures, which our Saviour Jesus Christ did not only cite on all occasions, but at the last, sealed them with his Blood: that they may drive the People from them, as if they were dangerous and destructive, with the greater facility; these very Scriptures I say, they call a cold, uncertain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, dead Letter, which seems to us to be the same thing as if they should wholly deny them to be the Word of God: And besides all this, they commonly add a no very proper Simile too. *They are* (say they) *a Nose of Wax, and may be form'd and set all manner of ways, and be made to serve all manner of Purposes.* Does the Pope not know that that these things are said by his Followers? Does he not understand what kind of Patrons he has?

Ephesians 2.

20.

De Unitate

Eccl. cap. 3.

Ib. cap. 4.

Our Saviour
resigned up
his Soul to his
Father in the
Words of Da-
vid, Luk. 23.
46. Mat. 31.5.

Pighius in Hie-
rarchia.

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27. LET the Pope then be pleased to hear how piously and how holily *Hosius* a certain *Polander*, and a Bishop, as he saith himself, certainly an eloquent and not unlearned man, and a sharp and violent defender of his Interest, writes concerning the Scriptures. I believe he will admire a pious man could possibly entertain such impious Thoughts, or write so contemptuously of those very words which he knew proceeded from the Mouth of God ; and above all that, he should seem to desire that it might not pass for his Sense alone, but the common Opinion of the whole Popish Party. *We* (saith he) *have bid adieu to the Scriptures, having seen so many, not only different, but contrary Interpretations given of them ; let us then rather hear God himself speak, then apply our selves and trust our Salvation to those jejune Elements : There is no need of being Skilful in the Law and Scriptures, but of being taught by God : That Labour is ill imployed that is bestowed on the Scriptures, for the Scripture is a Creature and a poor kind of Element.* Thus far *Hosius*, in his Book of the expresse Word of God, in this place craftily, under the Person of another Man, tho he speaks the same thing in several other places in the same Book, as his own Opinion without any disguise: which is said with the same Spirit and Affection, as the like things were heretofore by *Montanus* and *Marcion*, who are reported frequently to have said, when they contemptuously rejected the Holy Scriptures, that *they knew more and better things than either Christ or his Apostles ever knew.* What then shall I say on this Occasion? O ye Pillars of Religion ! O ye
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Presidents of the Church of Christ ! is this the Reverence ye pay to the Word of God ? Do ye bid an *Adieu* to the Sacred Scriptures, which St. *Paul* saith are divinely inspir'd, which the Holy God hath illustrated by so many Miracles, in which the certain Foot-steps of Jesus Christ are imprinted, which were cited as Testimonies by all the Holy Fathers, by the Apostles, by Christ himself the Son of God, when occasion requir'd it ? do ye (I say) bid adieu to these, as if they were not worthy of your regard ? that is, do ye impose silence upon God, who it is that speaks clearly to you in the Scriptures ? Or will you call that Word a *poor and a dead* Element, by which only, as St. *Paul* saith, we are *reconcil'd to God*, and which, as the Prophet *David* saith, is *Holy and Pure and shall endure for ever* ? Or will you say, that all the Pains we spend in that which Christ commanded us to search diligently, and to have ever in our Eye, is lost ? and that Christ and the Apostles, when they exhorted the People to a careful Perusal of the Scriptures, that they might thereby abound in all Knowledge and Wisdom, designed only to delude and abuse Men ? It is no wonder that these men despise us and our Writings, who thus undervalue God himself and his Oracles ; but it was a most foolish Action to offer so great an Affront to the Word of God, that they might do us a small mischief.

28. AND now, as if all this were too little, they commit the Holy Scriptures to the Fire, as the wicked King *Jehojakim*, and as

Antiochus

2 Tim. 4. 16.

2 Cor. 5. 19.

Psal. 19. 8.

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Antiochus and *Maximinus*, two Heathen Persecutors, did, calling them the Books of Hereticks; and they seem altogether disposed to imitate *Herod the Great*, in what he did for the establishing of his Power; for he being an *Idumean* of another Race and Blood than the *Jews* were, and desiring to be thought a *Jew*, that so he might the better settle that his Kingdom over them, which he had obtained from *Augustus Caesar*, he commanded all their Genealogies which they kept in their Publick Register, and were carefully preserved from *Abrahams* times, (by which, without any Error, it was easie to find of which Tribe any person was descended) to be burnt and abolished, that there might be nothing to be found for the future, by which it might be proved he was of another Nation. So these men, pretending that all their Innovations were consigned to them by Christ and his Apostles, and desiring they should be accordingly esteemed, lest there should be any thing any where extant, which might contradict these Dreams and Shams, either burn or suppress the Scriptures, and keep them from the People. *St. Chrysostom* has written very well and appositely against such men as these; *Hereticks* (saith he) shut the Gates of Truth, for they know if they be kept open, the Church will never be thought theirs. And *Theophylact* stiles the Word of God a Candle, by the Light of which, a Thief may be discovered. And *Tertullian* saith, the Scriptures convict the Frauds and Thefts of Hereticks: For why else do they hide and suppress the Gospel, which Christ commanded his Disciples to publish from

Euseb. lib. 1.
c. 7.

In opere imperfecto.

from the House top? Why else do they endeavour to put that Candle under a Bushel, which ought to be set in a Candlestick? Why do they trust more to the Ignorance, Blindness, and Folly of the Multitude, than to the Goodness of their Cause? Do they think their Arts are not disclosed? or that, as if they had *Gyges* his Ring, they can go undiscovered? The World sees now with both Eyes, what is so carefully locked up in the Cabinet of the Popes Breast; this one Argument is sufficient to prove they do not act well and sincerely: that Cause deserves to be suspected, which declines a Scrutiny, and hates the Light; for as *Christ* saith, he that doth Evil seeks Darknes and hates the Light, but a mind conscious of what is good, willingly comes forth, that the Works which come from God may be seen; but these Gentlemen are not so blind, but they see what will become of their Kingdom, if the Scriptures come once to be generally known; and as it is said of old, all the Idols of the Demons, which before gave Oracles, suddenly became dumb upon the appearance of *Christ* upon Earth; so now will all their Arts, at the approach of the Gospel, sink down into Ruins and Rubbish, for *Antichrist* is not to be deposed by any other thing than the Brightness of the coming of *Christ*.

John 3. 20.

2 Thes. 2. 8.

29. WE do not, like them, presently betake our selves to Fire and Sword, but to the Scriptures, nor do we assault them with force and Arms, but with the Word of God. By them, as *Tertullian* saith, we nourish our Faith, by them we erect our Hope, by them

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Galat. 1. 8.

we establish our Confidence; for we know that the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* is the Power of God unto Salvation, and that in it there is eternal life; and as *St. Paul* admonisheth us, we would refuse to hear an Angel of God that came from Heaven, if he endeavoured to turn us away from any part of this Doctrine. Yea, as that most holy man, *Justin Martyr* said of himself, we would not believe God himself, if he should teach us another Gospel; for whereas they make the Holy Scriptures like silent Masses, dumb and useless, and appeal rather to God himself speaking in the Church, and in Council that is to their own (better) Senses and Opinions, that is a very uncertain and dangerous way of finding out Truth, and in a sort *Phenomenical*, and which was never approved by the Holy Fathers. *St. Chrysostom* saith indeed that many boast of the Holy Spirit, but if they speak what is their own, they glory falsely what they have not; for (saith he) as Christ denied that he spake from himself, when he spake out of the Law and the Prophets; so now, if anything besides the Gospel is obtruded upon us under the Name of the Holy Ghost, it is not to be believed; for as Christ is the Completion of the Law and the Prophets, so the Spirit is the Completion of the Gospel.

CHAP

CHAP. V.

*Concerning the Answers and Objections out
of the Fathers and Councils.*

BUT though they have not the Scriptures on their side, perhaps they will pretend they have the ancient Doctors and the Holy Fathers; for that they have ever boasted, that all Antiquity, and the perpetual Consent of all times is for them, and that all our Pre-
sences are Novel, and were never heard of, till within the course of a very few years last past.

2. NOW certainly there can nothing of more weight be said against Religion, then that it is new. We know not how this has come to pass, but from the beginning of the World, thus it hath ever been; for whensoever God hath discovered and restored to Mankind the light of his *Truth*, tho it is not only of the utmost Antiquity, but older than time it self, and eternal; yet it ever seems to wicked men, who hate it, to be new and of no Antiquity. That impious and bloody man *Haman*, that he might bring the *Jews* into disfavour, thus accused them to *Assuerus*: *Thou, O King, hast bere in thy Dominions, a certain People scattered abroad, which observeth new Laws, but is stubborn and rebellious against thy Laws.* St. Paul also, when he began first to preach the Gospel to the *Athe-*

Esther 3. 8.

According to
the vulgar La-
tin.

A&. 17. 18.

Origen contra
Celsum.

nians, was said to be a *Setter forth of strange Gods*, that is of a new Religion; and accordingly thus they bespeak him, *May we know what this new Doctrine whereof thou speakest is?* And *Celsus*, when he wrote expressly against Christ and his Gospel, that he might expose it to the scorn of men, under the pretence of its Novelty, writes thus, *What (saith he) has God after so many Ages, now at last betought himself?* *Eusebius* also is our Author, that from the beginning, the Christian Religion was in derision, stiled *νέα ἑστέλω*, the new and strange Religion; and so our Adversaries condemn all our Doctrines as new and strange; but then they desire that all their own, without exception, should be reputed most ancient; just as the *Magicians* and *Conjurers*, whose business is with the *infernal Spirits*, that their abominable Art may be thought the more sublime and divine, as being derived from great Patrons and Inventors, and of a very ancient Original, do commonly say, that they have their Books and all their Rites and secret Mysteries from *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Moses*, *Abel* and *Adam*, and from the Arch-Angel *Raphael*. So our Enemies, that their Religion too, which they have not long since patch'd up for themselves, may with the more ease be recommended to ignorant men, and those that rarely consider what themselves or others do, pretend that it came down to them (*just such as now it is*) from *St. Augustin*, *St. Hierom*, *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Ambrose*, from the Apostles and Christ, for they very well know, that there is nothing more popular, and of greater esteem

esteem with men, than those venerable Names. But now, what if those things they pretend are so new, do indeed prove to be most ancient? and what if on the other side, almost all those things which they extol so very much upon the pretence of Antiquity, when they are well and diligently examined, are in the end found to be new and of a very late Original.

3. IN truth, the Laws and Ceremonies of the *Jews*, altho accused by *Haman* as *new*, could never be thought so by any man, who did well and rightly consider the thing, for they were written on most ancient Tables; and Christ, tho many thought he departed from *Abraham* and the ancient Fathers, and brought in a new Religion in his own name, yet answered truly, *if ye believed* John. 5. 45. *Moses, ye would believe me also*, for my Doctrine is not so new, for *Moses*, a very ancient Author and of great esteem with you, *hath spoken of me*: and *St. Paul* saith, of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which many thought to be new, that it had the most Ancient Testimony of the Law and the Prophets. And our Doctrine, which we may much better call the Catholick Doctrine of Christ, is not so new, but that it is commended to us by the Ancient of days, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in most ancient Monuments, the Prophets and Gospels, and the Writings of the Apostles; and these cannot now seem new to any man, but to him to whom the Faith of the Prophets, the Gospel, and Christ himself seems new. But then as to their Religion, if it be so ancient as they pretend,

The Apology of the

why do they not prove it so from the Examples of the Primitive Church, from the old Fathers and the antient Councils? Why doth so antient a Cause lye desolate and without a Patron so very long? Indeed they never want Fire and Swords; but then as to the ancient Fathers and Councils, there is with them a deep silence. But it is the height of Absurdity and Folly to begin with those bloody and brutish Reasons, if they could possibly have found out easier and milder Arguments.

4. AND again, if they do indeed intirely trust to Antiquity, and do not dissemble any thing, why did one *John Clement*, an English man, rend and burn some Leaves of *Theodoret*, a most ancient Father, and a Greek Bishop, in the presence of several persons of good Worth and Credit, believing that another Copy of that Book was no where to be found, because this Father had perspicuously and clearly taught, *that the Nature of the Bread was not abolished in the Eucharist*? Why doth *Albertus Pigbius* deny that the ancient Father *St. Augustin* had a true notion of original Sin? Or of Matrimony, in that he saith that *a Marriage made after a Vow entered, is a good Marriage, and cannot be dissolved*; upon which occasion *Pigbius* saith, *Augustin erred and made use of false Logick*? And why did they in a late Impression of *Origen*, upon the Gospel of *St. John*, omit the whole sixth Chapter, in which it is probable, or rather certain, that Father has delivered many things contrary to their Opinions, concerning the Eucharist, choosing rather to deface and

Caus. 27. 9. 1.
Nuptiarum bonum in controversiis.

This Book is every where to be had thus imperfect.

and to mutilate this ancient Father, than to suffer any thing to appear in the World which might contradict their Doctrine, by printing the Book perfect? Is their Rending, Suppressing, Maiming and Burning the Writings of the ancient Fathers, an Argument of their Reliance on Antiquity?

When this piece was written, the design of a general Index Expurgatorius upon all the printed Fathers was not

known, which is an undeniable Argument under their own hands, that the ancient Fathers are not in their Interest; the first of these Indexes was found at the Sack of *Cales in Spain*, Anno Domini 1596. many years after this Apology was published.

5. IT is worth the while to see how rarely these Gentlemen agree in matters of Religion with those antient Fathers, of whose concurrence they boast so unmeasurably.

1. The ancient *Elibertin* Council decreed, that *cap. 3.*

what was the Object of Worship should not be painted in Churches. The old Father *Epiphanius* saith, it is a horrible wickedness, and an insufferable villany, for any man to set up the Picture, even of Christ in Christian Churches: but they have filled all their Churches and every Corner of them with Pictures and Statues, as if there were no Religion without them. Images.

2. The ancient Fathers, *Origen* and *St. Chrysostom*, have exhorted the People to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, that they would buy Books, and discourse amongst themselves of holy things in their Families, the Wives with their Husbands, and the Parents with their Children; but our adversaries condemn the Scriptures as dead Elements, and drive the People from them as much as they can possibly. Scripture. *Origines in Leviticam, cap. 16. Chrysostom in Math. 1. Hom. 2. in Johan. Hom. 3.*

3. The ancient Fathers, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*

Marriage.

Epist. 11. lib.

1. cont. Ap.

*Heret. 61. de
virginitate ser-
vanda ad De-
metriadem.*

Ceremonies.

Monks.

Cap. 3.

nus and *St. Jerome*, if any Person who had vowed to live a single Life, did afterwards fall into impurity, and could not overcome the Rages of his Concupiscence, said, it was better for him to marry, and live chastly in a State of Matrimony; and such a Marriage is by *St. Augustine*, another ancient Father, adjudged to be valid and good, and that it ought not to be recalled or rescinded; but they, if a man has once bound himself by a Vow, although he is afterwards burnt, altho he Whores, altho he lives never so lewdly and dissolutely, yet they will never suffer him to marry; or if he does perhaps marry, they deny that it is a lawful Marriage; and they reach, that it is much more holy to keep a Concubine or a Whore, than to live in a state of Matrimony. 4. *St. Augustin*, an ancient Father, complained of the excessive number of impertinent Ceremonies, with which the Minds and Consciences of Men were even then oppressed; they, as if God regarded nothing else, have since swelled the number of them to so immense a quantity, that there is scarce any thing else left in their Churches. 5. The same ancient Father denies it to be lawful for a Monk to live lazily in idleness; and under the Shew and Pretence of Sanctity, to live on what is anothers; and the ancient Father *Apollonius* saith, such a Monk is no better than a Thief: But they have whole Flocks or Herds shall I call them of Monks, who do nothing, nor do they so much as pretend to any shew of Holiness, and yet do not only live by the Labour of others, but fare deliciously and luxuriously. 6. An ancient

cient *Roman* Council decreed, that no man should be present at that Divine Service which was celebrated by a Priest which he knew kept a *Concubine*; but they permit the Priests to keep Concubines for Money, and by force, compel men to be present at their Sacrilegious Services. 7. The ancient *Apostolical Canons* command that Bishop to be deposed, who shall exercise at the same time the Office of a Bishop, and the Function of a Civil Magistrate; but these men do, and will exercise both, or rather indeed totally neglect that which is most of all their Duty, and yet there is no man to remove and punish them. 8. The ancient Council of *Gangra*, forbid any man to put such difference between a married and a single Priest, as to esteem the one more Holy than the other upon that account; but they put such a Difference, that they think all the Holy Services which are performed by a pious and good man who hath a Wife are prophaned. 9. The ancient Emperor * *Justinianus*, commanded all things in the Divine Service to be pronounced with an audible, loud, clear, articulate Voice, that the People might thereby reap some benefit by it; but they, that the People may never understand them, whisper their Divine Service, not only in an obscure and low Tone, but also in a strange and barbarous Tongue. 10. The old * *Cartbagenian* Council forbid any thing besides the Canonical Scriptures to be read in the holy Assemblies of the Church; but they read in their Churches, what they themselves do not doubt to be meer Lyes and silly Fables. And

Concubines.

Magistracy.
Cap. 8.

Married
Priests.

* In *Novellis*
Constit. 23. and
146.

Divine Service to be performed in an audible Voice. Let those Clergy men of the Church of *England* consider this, who read the Service so low, that no man can hear it.

* Only the Canonical Scriptures to be read in Churches.

now

now if any man thinks these things are of no great consideration, because they were decreed by Emperors and small Councils, consisting of Bishops of less esteem, and not in full Councils, and therefore are more fond of the Authority and Names of Popes.

11. *Julius* expressly forbade the Priest in the Celebration of the holy Communion, to dip the Bread in the *Calice*; but they, contrary to this Decree, do divide the Bread and dip it.

12. *Clemens* the Pope saith, it is not lawful for a Bishop to bear both (the Spiritual and Civil) Swords; and (saith he) if thou wilt have both, thou deceivest thy self and those that hear thee; but now the Pope claims both, and bears both, and therefore the Wonder ought to seem the less, if that hath followed which *Clement* foretold, and he hath accordingly deceived himself and those which have heard him.

13. Pope *Leo* saith, it is not lawful to celebrate more than one Mass in one Day, in one Church; they say every day sometimes ten, at others twenty, and at other thirty, and sometimes more in the same Church, at the same time, so that the miserable Spectator knows not which way to turn him.

14. *Gelasius* the Pope saith, that if any man divide the Sacrament, and when he has received one part, refuseth the other, he doth act Wickedly and Sacrilegiously; but they, contrary to the Word of God, and the Decree of this Pope, command only one part of the Eucharist to be given to the People, and by so doing, have made their Priests guilty of Sacrilege.

6. BUT now if they shall pretend that all these things are antiquated and worn out of use, and so are in a sort dead, and do not concern our times, yet that men may see what Faith is to be given to these Men, and with what Hope they call Councils, let us consider in a few instances, how well they observe those things which have been ordained of late years, and which are fresh in Memory, by Councils which they pretend were lawfully called, and in which they themselves decreed those things I shall mention, to be Religiously observed. In the last Council of *Trent*, not much above fourteen years March 3d. since, it was decreed by the common Vote of 1547. all Orders there present, *that two Benefices* Pluralities. *should not be committed at one time to the same Person.* Where is that *Sanction* now? Is that so soon antiquated and dead too? for they do frequently give not only two Benefices, but sometimes also several Monasteries too, and sometimes two, three or four Bishopricks to one Man, and he too sometimes not only unlearned, and consequently thereby unfit for them, but a Soldier. In the same Council it was decreed, that *all Bishops ought to preach the Gospel*; but they never Preach, nor ever come in a Pulpit, nor do they think it in the least any part of their Duty. What then is the meaning of all that shew of Antiquity? Why do they glory so in the Names of the Fathers, and of the ancient and modern Councils? Why would they so fain seem to rely upon their Authority, whom, as occasion serve, at their Pleasure they despise?

7. BUT I have a great desire to have a little

The Apology of the

little discourse with the Pope himself, and to tell him some things to his Face. Be pleased then, O Holy Father! who so often boastest of Antiquity, and pretendest that all the Ancients are intirely addicted to thy Service to inform us; which of all the ancient Fathers ever call'd *your Holiness* the chief *Pastor*, or the Universal Bishop, or the Head of the Church? Which of them ever said that both the Swords were given to thee? Which of them ever said that you have the Right and Authority to call Councils, that the whole World was your Diocese? Which of them ever said that all Bishops had received of your Fulness? That all Power, both in Heaven and Earth was given to you? That you could not be judged by Kings, nor by the whole Clergy, nor by all the People? Which of them ever said that Kings and Emperors, by the Command and will of Christ, derived Authority from you? Which of them ever affirmed with a *Mathematical* Exactness and Certainty, that your Authority was precisely seventy seven times greater than that of the greatest Kings? Which of them ever said that you had a greater power than the other *Patriarchs*? Which of them ever said you were *the Lord God*, or not a meer Man like other Mortals, or stiled you a certain Horch-potch, a Mixture or *Concrete* of God and Man? which of them ever said that you were the fountain of all Law? that you had an Empire and Dominion over Purgatory; and that you might at your pleasure command the Angels of God? Which of them ever said that you were *King of Kings and Lord of Lords*? And

*De Major et
Obed. Unam
Sanctam in Ex-
travag. Boni-
fac. 8. Durand.
Concil. Lat.
sub Julio 2°.*

*Distinct. 9. In-
nocentii de ma-
jor in obed. so-
lite in Extra-
vag. John 22.
c. cum inter
nonnullos, in
glossa finali, in
impressa Edi-
tione Parisiis.
1503.*

*Antonius de
Rosellis.*

now we are in, we may inquire of a few other things of the same Nature. What one Man of all the ancient Bishops and Fathers ever taught you to say a private Mass, whilst the People did nothing but look on; or to lift the Eucharist above your Head, in which you now place all your Religion; or to curtail the Sacrament of Christ, and contrary to his Institution and express Command, to deprive the People of one half of it? And that we may conclude what one of all the ancient Fathers taught you, to dispence the Blood of Christ, and the Merits of the Martyrs, and to sell your Indulgences and all the Apartments and Lodgings of Purgatory, like Commodities in the Market for Money? They are wont often to celebrate their own wonderful secret Learning, and their manifold and various Readings. Now let your Partizans at last produce something of it if they can, or let them at least shew they have read, and do know more than or dinary; for they have often made hideous Outcries amongst their Hearers, that all the parts of their Religion are ancient, and approved, not only by the number, but also by the Continuance and Consent of all Nations and Times.

8. WELL, then let them at least shew this their boasted Antiquity; let them make it appear, that what they so much extol is indeed of so vast an Extent; let them prove that all Christian Nations have imbraced their Religion. But alas! (as I said before) they flee from their own *Decrees*, and have already pluckt up those Canons which but a very few years since they made to last for ever.

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ever. Why then should we trust them in relation to what they pretend concerning the Fathers, the ancient Councils, and the Scriptures? They have not, O good God! they have not, on their sides, what they pretend to have; they have neither Antiquity, nor Universality, nor the consent of either all times, or all Nations. And of this they are not ignorant themselves, tho they craftily dissemble their Knowledge: Yea, at times they will not obscurely confess it; and therefore sometimes they will alledge, that the Sanctions of the ancient Councils and Fathers, are such as, may lawfully be changed, *for different Decrees (say they) will best suit the different State of the Church in different times.* And so they hide themselves under the name of the Church, and by a wretched sham delude Mankind. And in truth it is a great wonder that Men should be so blind, as not to see these things; or if they do see them, so patient, as to bear and indure them with that stupidity and unconcernment they seem to have.

9. BUT tho they have abrogated the Canons of the ancient Councils, as too old and overworn, yet perhaps they have settled new and more useful Rules in their place; for they have the confidence to say, that if Christ himself, or his Apostles, should arise from the Dead, they could not administer the Affairs of the Church of God better or more piously than it is now administered by them: Indeed they have put others in the place of the former: but as *Jeremias* saith, *Chaff instead of Wheat*, or as *Isaiab* saith, *What God never re-*

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quired at their Hands; for they have stopp'd up all the veins of Living Waters, and have hewen for the People of God, *broken and polluted Cisterns*, being full of mud and dregs, which neither have in them any pure Water, nor can hold it if it were put into them. They have torn from the People the Holy Communion; the word of God from which all true Comfort could only be expected; the true Worship of God; the right use of the Sacraments and Prayers of the Church; and they have given us to please our selves withall in the mean time, of their own pure invention, consecrated *Salts, Waters, Oyls, Spittle, Palmes, Bulls, Jubiles, Indulgences, Crosses, Censings*, and an infinite number of *Ceremonies*. And as *Plautus* calls others of the like nature, *Ludos Ludificabiles*, Shews and Pageants, that are very divertising, and good for nothing else. In these things they have made all Religion to consist; and they have taught the People that by these things God is rightly appeas'd, and that by these things Devils are put to flight, and the Consciences of Men quieted and confirmed. For these are the Paints and Perfumes of Christianity, these are the grateful and acceptable things to the All-seeing God; these are to be had in honour; that Christ's and his Apostles Institutions may be taken away. And as heretofore the wicked King *Feroboam* when he had taken away the true Service of God, and perswaded the People instead of it to accept the Golden Calves, for fear they might change their minds, and fall from him, and return to the Temple of God at *Jerusalem*, made a long Oration to them,

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them, " exhorting them to Constancy, saying to them, *These are thy Gods O Israel* ; " thus did your God command you to worship him. But it would be very grievous and troublesome for you to take so long a Journey, and to go up every year to worship and adore God at *Jerusalem*. Even so our Adversaries when they had once by their Traditions quash'd the Laws of God, lest the People should afterwards open their Eyes and fall off from them, and seek a better way of assuring their Salvation. O how often have they exclaimed that this is the true Worship of God, which he is pleas'd with, and hath required of us, and by which he will be appeas'd when he is angry ! and that it is grievous and troublesome to the People to have recourse to Christ, and the Apostles and Fathers, and to attend perpetually what they require of them. Is this their way of bringing the People of God off from the weak Elements of the World, from the leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees, and from humane Traditions ? Are the Commandments of Christ and his Apostles to be taken away, that these goodly things may succeed them ? O most righteous Cause, why should an old Doctrine which hath been approved for many Ages, be antiquated, and a new Form of Religion be brought into the Church of God ! Ay (but say they) be it what it will, nothing ought to be changed, the minds of Men are wondrous well satisfied with these things ; the Church of *Rome* has so decreed, and she cannot err ; for *Sylveſter Prierias* saith, *That the Church of Rome is the Rule and Model of Truth* ;

and

and that the Holy Scriptures have received from her all their Faith and Authority. The Doctrine (saith he again) of the Church of Rome, is the infallible Rule of Faith, from whence the Holy Scriptures have all their strength. For Indulgences were not made known to us by the Authority of Scriptures; but they were made known by the Authority of the Church, and Popes of Rome, which is greater than the Scriptures. Pighius doth not fear to say, that without the command of the Church of Rome, we are not to believe the most clear place of Scripture: Which is just as if one of those who cannot speak good and pure Latin, and yet by use and custom has got the faculty readily and fluently to blunder on in the Lawyer's Latin, should therefore stand stoutly to it, that all others are bound to speak it after the same manner, that was many years since in use with *Mammetrectum* and the *Catholicon*, which they still use in their Pleadings; because by that means men might very easily be understood, and their Humours might be gratified: but on the other side that it were ridiculous to trouble the World now with a new way of speaking, and to reduce into practice again the old Purity and Eloquence of the Latin Tongue used in the times of Cicero and Cæsar.

10. SO much are they indebted to the Ignorance and blindness of the former times, that as one saith, *Many things are often had in great esteem, because they were once dedicated to the Service of the Gods.* So now we see many things are magnified and applauded by them, not because they judge them worthy of this Esteem; but only because by Custom they

C. Plinius,

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were

were once received, and thereby in a sort dedicated to the Service of God. *But they pretend that their Church cannot Err.* I suppose they speak this in the same sense as the *Lacedaemonians* were wont to say, there was no such thing as Adultery in their Common-wealth, when in truth they were all Adulterers, and used an uncertain sort of Marriages, and had their Wives in common. Or, as the Hungry Canonists now say of the Pope, that he being Lord of all Benefices, altho he sells Bishopricks, Monasteries, and Livings, and suffers nothing to go from him without Money: yet because he claims all these as his own, tho he would, yet he cannot commit Simony: But then how well or rationally this is spoken, we poor Men cannot see or understand; except as the ancient *Romans* served *Victory*, so they have served *Truth*, for when she once came flying to them, they clipped her Wings that she might no more fly from them. But what if *Jeremias* should tell them, as we have observed above, that *these are lying Words*? And what again if he should say, *That many Pastors* (who ought to have dressed) *have destroyed my Vineyard*? What if Christ should say, that those who should have taken the greatest care of the Temple, have made *the House of God a Den of Thieves*? For if the Church of *Rome* cannot Err, she is more beholding to her own good Fortune, than to their Prudence or Care; for such are their Lives, Doctrines, and Diligence, that if we are to take our Measures from thence, this Church is not only in danger of falling into Error, but of a total Ruine and Destruction: And

Plutarch.

XII. 9.

Mat. XX. 13.

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And certainly if that Church can err which hath departed from the Word of God, the Commandments of Christ, the Institutions of the Apostles, the Examples of the Primitive Church, and from the Canons and Sanctions of the ancient Fathers and Councils, yea, and from her own too, which will be obliged by neither old nor new Laws, by neither her own nor any others, by neither Divine nor Humane Laws; I say if all this be to err, then it is certain that the Church of *Rome* not only may err, but that she hath most wickedly and lewdly erred.

II. BUT they say we were once of their Communion, but now we are Apostates, and have departed from them; indeed we have departed from them, and we bless the Great and Holy God for it, and please our selves mightily in it; but then we have not departed from the Primitive Church, from the Apostles, from Christ; we were educated indeed with them in darkness and ignorance of God, as *Moses* was in the Discipline and bondage of the *Egyptians*. *We were of your Number* (saith *Tertullian*) *and I confess it, but what wonder is there in that, Men are made, and not born Christians*. But then I may as well ask them why they have descended from the severn Hills on which the ancient City of *Rome* stood, to dwell in the Plains in the *Martian Field*; to which perhaps they would reply, that the *Aqueducts*, without which they could not conveniently dwell on those Hills, have failed. Let them then but grant the same liberty in relation to the Waters of Life, which they expect we should afford them in regard of the

The Apology of the

XIV. 3.

XLI. 17.

VIII. 11.

common Family-water. The Springs did now fail with them: *The Elders* (saith *Jeremiah*) sent their little ones to the Waters, they came to the Pits and found no Water, they returned with their Vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Or, as *Isaiab* saith, *The Poor and the Needy seek Water, and there is none, and their Tongue faileth for thirst.* They had broken all their Conduits and Water-courses; they had stopped up all the Springs, and covered the Fountain of Living Waters with mire and mud; and as *Caligula*, by shutting up all the publick Granaries, enjoined the People of *Rome* to fast: so they by stopping up the Fountains of the Word of God, had enjoined the People to undergo the Miseries of a destructive Thirst; they have (as the Prophet *Amos* saith) brought upon the World a Famine; *Not a Famine of Bread, nor a thirst for Water, but of bearing the Words of the Lord.* Miserable Men went searching about for a small spark of Divine Light to cheer their Consciences, but they were all gone out and they could find none; this was the miserable Condition and State of their Church, men lived wretchedly in it without the Gospel, and without Light or Consolation.

12. AND therefore how afflictive soever our departure from them may seem to them, yet they ought at the same time to consider how just the cause of it was; for if they say in general, it is not lawful to leave that Society in which thou wert educated; this were in our Persons to condemn the Prophets, Apostles, and Christ himself; for why is it

not

not as reasonable to blame *Lot* for leaving *Sodom*, *Abraham* for leaving *Chaldea*, the *Hebrews* for leaving *Egypt*, *Christ* for leaving the *Jews*, and *St. Paul* for leaving the *Pharisees*?

For except it be granted that there may be a just cause of departure, we can see no cause why these may not in the same manner as we are, be accused of Faction and Sedition.

But if we are to be thought Hereticks because we will not obey all their unjust commands, what are they? Who or what are they to be thought, who have contemned the Commands of Christ and his Apostles? If we are Schismatics who have forsaken them, by what name shall we call them who have forsaken the *Greeks*, from whom they first received the Christian Faith, the Primitive Church, Christ, and the Apostles, who were their Spiritual Parents? For the *Greek Church* who at this day profess the Religion and Name of Christ: altho they have in many things contaminated it, yet they still retain a great part of those things which they received from the Apostles. And so they have no private Masses, no maimed Sacraments, no Purgatory nor Indulgences: And as to the Papal Titles and magnificent Names, they have this esteem of them, that whoever calls himself the *universal Bishop*, and the *Head of the whole Church*, is a proud Man, and injurious to all the other Bishops who are his Brethren, nor will they scruple on this single account to call him *Heretick*.

The Grecian Church.

13. BUT now seeing it is apparent, and cannot be denied, that they have made a defection from them, from whom they received the Gospel, the Christian Faith and Religion,

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yea,

The Apology of the

yea, and the very being of a Church ; what cause is there to be given, why they should not return back to them as to their Original? Why should they so much dread the times of the Fathers and Apostles, as if they had seen nothing? Why, do they see more, or love the Church better than they who delivered what they have, to them? For as for us we have forsaken a Church in which we could neither hear the pure Word of God, nor administer the Sacraments, nor invoke the Name of God as we ought ; which they themselves acknowledge to be faulty in many things, and in which there was nothing to retain a prudent Man, who thought seriously of his Salvation. Lastly, We have departed from a Church which is not now what anciently she was ; and so we have departed, as *Daniel* did, out of the Den of Lyons, as the three Children did out of the fiery Furnace ; or to speak more properly, we have not so much departed from them, as been cast out by them with Execrations and Curses.

14. BUT then we have united our selves to that Church, in which if they would speak their minds truly and freely, they themselves cannot deny but that all things are purely and reverently administered, and as far as we can possibly, according to the Example and Manner of the ancient times. Let them compare their Church and ours together, and they will soon see that they have most basely departed from the Apostles, and we have most justly and reasonably departed from them ; for we, with Christ and the Apostles, and Primitive Fathers, give the intire and whole Eucharist

to the People; but they contrary to the Practice of all the Fathers and Apostles, and of Christ himself, divide that Sacrament with an high Sacrilege, as *Gelasius* expresseth it, and deprive the People of one half of it. 2. We have recalled the Lords Supper to its first Institution, and have made it common to as many as was possible, that it might be as it is called a *Communion*: But they, contrary to the Institution of Christ, of a Holy Communion have, made it a private Mass; and so we give the People the Lords Supper, they entertain them with a vain Show. 3. We affirm with the ancient Fathers, that the Body of Christ is eaten by none but Holy and Faithful Men, who are endowed with the Spirit of Christ; but they say that the very Body of Christ may be truly and indeed, or as they express it, *really and substantially* eaten, not only by impious and unbelieving Men, but which is abominable to be spoken, by *Mice* and *Dogs*. 4. We pray so in our Churches, ^{2 Cor. XIV.} that according to *St. Paul's* Admonition, the People may know what is prayed, and understandingly answer *Amen* to the common Prayers: They like tinkling Brass pour out in the Church unknown and strange Words, without Understanding, Sense, or Meaning; and take all the care they can that the People may understand nothing. 5. And that we may not mention all the differences, because they are almost infinite, we have turned the Holy Scriptures into all Languages, and they will scarce allow them to be extant in any Tongue: We invite the People to read and hear the Word of God, they drive them

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away from it: We desire the Cause in Controversie should be understood by all, but they fly from Judgment: We trust to Knowledge, they to Ignorance; We trust to the Light, and they to Darknes; We venerate, as it is fit we should, the Words of the Apostles and Prophets; they burn them. Lastly, in the Cause of God we desire to stand or fall by the Judgment of God alone; and they would stand only by their own. Now therefore if they would consider all these things with a sedate and quiet mind, well disposed to hear and learn, they would not only approve our design, who having left their Errors, have applyed our selves to follow Christ and his Apostles; but they would likewise fall off from themselves, and certainly unite with us in our way.

C H A P. VI.

*Of the Great Value we have for Councils,
and of the little regard the Papists have
for them.*

BUT in the next place they pretend that it is altogether unlawful to attempt any of these things, without the consent of a *General Council*; because in that is lodged all the Power of the Church; and Christ hath promised that there he will never fail to be present. But as I said they have violated the Commandments of God, the Decrees of the Apostles,

Apostles, and almost all the Institutions and Doctrines of the Primitive Church, without ever expecting any such Sacred Council.

2. AND whereas they pretend that it is not Lawful for any Church to change any thing without a General Council; who imposed these Laws upon us, or from whence had they this Edict? That King acted very ridiculously, who when he was assured by an Oracle, of the Will and Pleasure of *Jupiter* Agestilaus. the Great Heathen God, referred the thing again to *Apollo*, that he might see whether he were of the same mind with his Father *Jupiter*. But we should act much more imprudently, if when we have heard God himself speaking to us in the Scriptures, and thereby know his Will and Pleasure, as if all this were nothing, we should after all refer the thing to a *Council*, which is nothing better than to try whether God and Man are both of one mind; and whether Men will please to approve and enforce the Laws of God by their Authority. For what, shall not truth be truth, except a Council is pleased to will and require it? Or shall not God be God without their consent? If Christ at the beginning would have acted thus, and would neither have taught nor spoken any thing without the consent of the High Priests, and if he had referred his whole Doctrine to *Annas* and *Caiphas*, where had the Christian Faith been now? Or who had ever heard of the Gospel? And *St. Peter*, whom the Pope mentions more frequently, and with greater *Elogies* than he doth Jesus Christ himself, confidently withstood the Sacred Council, and

Acts 4. 19.

Gal. 1. 12.
16.

and replied, *it is better to obey God than Man.* And St. Paul, when he had once thoroughly imbibed the Gospel, and that *neither from man nor by man, but only by the Will of God, deliberated not with Flesh and Blood*; nor did he refer the thing to his Kinsmen and Brethren, but straight way went into *Arabia*, that he might there publish the Divine Mysteries which he had learned of God himself.

3. WE do not despise Councils, nor the Meetings and Consultations of Bishops and learned Men; nor have we done what we have done without Bishops and a Council; the thing was debated along time in a full Assembly of the States. But what we may expect from that Council which is now pretended to be held by Pope Pius the IV. in which men are with such facility condemn'd, uncall'd, unheard, and unseen, is not mighty difficult to conjecture.

In the fourth year of Pius the IV. Anno Christi 1563. in the sixth year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, was an end put to the Council of Trent, which is so often mentioned by this Author.

Nazian. ad
Procopium.

When Nazianzen in his times, saw men in these Meetings so blind and obstinate, that they were wholly lead by their Affections, and that they sought Victory more than Truth, he confidently said, *that he never saw a good end put to any of the Councils.* What would he now say if he were living and understood their Transactions? for then, altho there was some Faction and Partiality, yet Causes were heard and considered, and manifest apparent Errors were taken away by their united Suffrages. But our Adversaries will not so much as suffer the Cause to be freely debated, nor will they suffer any

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one of the many Errors that are crept into the Church to be changed ; for they are wont frequently and impudently to boast that their Church cannot Err, that there is not the least fault in it, that nothing was to be yielded to us, or that if any thing were granted, it was to be at the Discretion of the Bishops and Abbots ; that they were the sole Moderators of Affairs, and that they were the Church of God. *Aristotle* saith, that Bastards cannot make a Civil Society or State, and they may consider whether they be any better qualified for the making of a Church of God ; for certainly they are neither lawful Abbots, nor genuine Bishops. But suppose they are the Church, suppose they are to be heard in Councils, and that they have the sole Right of Voting, yet in ancient time, when the Church of God was well governed, especially if it be compared with their Church ; as *St. Cyprian* acquaints us, the Presbyters and Deacons, and some part also of the Laity, were then call'd to assist at the hearing of Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. BUT what now, if those Abbots and Bishops know nothing ? What if they know not what Religion is, nor what they ought to believe of God ? What if the Law hath perished from the Priests, and Counsel from the Elders ? What if, as *Micah* saith, the Night be unto them instead of a Vision, and Darkness instead of a Divination ? What if, as *Isaiab* saith, the Watchmen of the City are all blind, they are all ignorant ? and what if the Salt (as *Christ* saith) hath lost its Force

Micah. 3. 6.

LVI. 10.

Math. 5. 13.

Luke 14. 35. Force and Savour, and is become good for nothing, not fit even to be cast upon the Dunghil? for they defer all to the Pope, who cannot

It was a common Proverb in the time of the Council of Trent, that the Holy Ghost was sent from Rome to the Council in a Cloak-Bag, which was spoken in derision of the Councils depending too much upon the Directions sent them very frequently from thence by Carriers, as Father Paul acquaints us in his History of that Council; and to this Proverb our Author in this place alludes: The same Proverb is mentioned by the Bishop of *Quinque Ecclesia*; in a Letter printed in the end of the Council of Trent in *English*.

err, but then this in the first place is ridiculous, that the Holy Ghost should be sent by a Carrier from the Holy Council to Rome; that if any Doubt or Stop happens which he cannot expedite, he may take better Instruction and Counsel from I know not what more learned Spirit; for if it must come to this at last, what need is there that so many Bishops should with such great Expence be called from very distant places at this time to Trent? It had certainly been more prudent, and much better, a shorter and an easier way, to have at first turn'd over all this Business to the

Pope, and have gone directly to the Oracle of his sacred Breast; besides, it is unjust to devolve our Cause from so many Bishops and Abbots, to the Judgment of any one man, and above all others, to the Judgment of the Pope, who is accused by us of many very great Crimes; and though he hath not answered for his own Misdemeanors, yet hath presum'd to condemn us before we were call'd, and that without any Tryal. Now do we invent all this? or is it not now the manner of our late Councils? Are not all things refer'd to the Pope by the Council; so that as if nothing were done by so many Sentences and Subscriptions, he alone may add, diminish,

diminish, abrogate, approve, relax, and restrain whatsoever he please? Whose Words are these? Why did the Bishops and Abbots in the end of the late Council at *Trent*, put in these words as a part of their Decree: *Saving De electione & ing in all things the Authority of the Apostolical electi potestate. See? Or why did Pope Pascal write thus insolently of himself: as if (saith he) any Councils could prescribe a Law to the Church of Rome, when all Councils are held by the Authority of the Church of Rome, and derive their Force from it too, and whereas they do patiently in their Decrees except the Authority of the Pope of Rome? If they will confirm and approve these things, why are Councils call'd? but if they are indeed repeal'd and abrogated, why are they still left in their Books, as if they were in force.* ca. significat.

5. WELL, but suppose in the next place, that the Pope, tho one is above all Councils, that is, that he is a part greater than the whole, has more Power, yea, and more Wisdom too, than all his Party besides; and that in spite of *St Jeroms* Judgment, *the Authority of this one City, is greater than that of the whole World.* *Ad Evagrium.* What if he has seen none of these things, and has neither read the holy Scriptures, nor the ancient Fathers, nor so much as any of his own Councils? What if like *Pope Liberius* of old, he becomes an *Arrian*, or like *Pope John*, who lived not many years since, thinks very leudly and wickedly of the *Immortality of the Soul, and of the Life to come*; or as *Pope Zosimus*, heretofore corrupted the Council of *Nice*, so he, for the enlarging of his own Power, should corrupt the other Councils, and aver, that those things

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things were deliberated and constituted by the holy Fathers, in them which were never so much as thought off; and that, as *Camotensis* faith, the Popes do frequently, he should offer Violence to the holy Scriptures, that he may thereby possess himself of a *Plenitude* of Power? What if he renounce the Christian Faith, and becomes an *Apostate*, as *Lyranus* faith, many Popes have done? What, will the holy Spirit for all these things knock at the Cabbin of his Breast, and obtrude such a Light upon him, contrary to his Inclinations, and against his Will, that he shall not err though he would? Or shall such a Pope as this, be the Fountain of all Laws, and all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge be notwithstanding found in him as in a Cabinet? Or if these things be not in him, can he nevertheless judge well and conveniently of things of this great weight? Or if he be not qualified to judge of them, does he yet desire that all these things should be refer'd to him alone? What now, if the Popes Advocates, the Abbots and Bishops dissemble nothing, but declare themselves openly to be the Enemies of the Gospel, and will not see what they do see, but wrest the Scriptures, and knowingly and willingly deprave and adulterate the Word of God, and do foully and impiously transfer to the Pope, what is perspicuously and properly spoken of Christ, and cannot be applied to any other Mortal? What if they say the Pope *is all, and above all*, or that he can do all those things which Christ can do; or that the Tribunal and Consistory of the Pope is the same with Christs?

*Hofl. ca. quan-
to Abas Panor.
de elect. ca.
Venerabilis.*

Christ's? or that the Pope is that Light which came into the World, which Christ spake of himself only, and that he that doth Evil hateth that Light, and fleeth from it; or that all other Bishops have received of his Fulness? Or lastly, what if they do, without dissimulation or obscurity, clearly and manifestly determine contrary to the Word of God? Shall whatever they say, nevertheless presently become Gospel? Shall such as these be the Army God? Will Christ be present with such Men? Will the Spirit of God move upon their Tongues, or may they say truly, *it seems good to the Holy Ghost and to us?*

Cornelius Episcopus in Concilio Tridentino. Durandus.

Acts 15. 28.

6. Petrus a Soto and his Voucher Hosius, make no scruple to affirm, that that very Council which condemn'd our Saviour to death, had then the Spirit of Prophecie, and Truth, and the Holy Ghost with them, and that what those High Priests said was not false or vain, when they said, *We have a Law, and by that Law he ought to die*; that in this (according to Hosius) they gave a true Judgment, and that their Decree was perfectly just, by which Christ was adjudged worthy of Death. It is a wonder in the mean time these men cannot defend themselves, and propagate their own Cause, except at the same time they undertake the Patronage of Annas and Caiaphas. For what Council will these men ever acknowledge to be vicious and erronious, who say that was a lawful and good Council, in which the Son of God was most ignominiously condemn'd to the Death of the Cross? and yet considering what almost all their Councils have been, it was necessary for them thus to pronounce of the

Hosius contra Brentium. lib.

2.

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the Council held by *Annas* and *Caiaphas*. But are they ever like to be the Men which are to reform the Church, who are at once the Judges and the Criminals? Will they ever lessen their Pride and Ambition? Will they depose themselves, and give Judgment against themselves, that the Bishops shall not be unlearned, slow Bellies, multiply Benefices, carry themselves like Princes, nor bear Arms? Will the Popes beloved Sons the *Abbots* decree, that that Monk who doth not earn his Bread with the Sweat of his Brows, is a Thief? or that it is not Lawful for them to live in the City, or in a Crowd of Men, or of that which belongs to another; that a Monk ought to lye upon the bare Ground, to live hardly with Herbs and Pease; to study hard, dispute, pray and labour to prepare himself for the Service of the Church? It is as reasonable to expect that the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* will reform the Temple, and of a *Den of Thieves*, will again make it become a House of Prayer.

7. THERE were some amongst them, who observed that many Errors were crept into the Church. Pope *Adrian*, *Aeneas Sylvius*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Pigbius*, and others, as we have said: After which, they had a Council at *Trent*, in the same place where there is one now indicted. Many Bishops and Abbots, and others who ought to be in a Council met; they were alone, and there was no body to disturb them whatever they did; for they had taken care to exclude all that were for the Reformation, and there they sate with a great Expectation six years;

in the first six months they decreed many things concerning the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, which were pious, but no way necessary for those Times; and yet of all these clear, manifest, confessed Errors which had gotten into the Church, what one single Error or Corruption have they reformed? From what kind of Idolatry have they reclaim'd the People? What Superstition have they taken away? What part of their Tyranny and Pomp have they abated or diminished? as if the World were so blind that it could not see and observe that this is a Conspiracy rather than a Council, and that all the Bishops which the Pope have there call'd together, are sworn and addicted to his Interest, and resolved before hand, not to do any thing but what shall please him, and increase his Power, and which they see he desireth; or that Votes there are not numbred rather than considered and weighed; or that the wiser and better part of the Council, is not often overborn by the greater, but worse part of it. And therefore we know perfectly well, that many good Men and Catholick Bishops, when such Councils were indicted, and they saw clearly that Parties and Factions were served by them, and that they should lose their Pains, and harden the Minds of their Adversaries by their Oppositions, without doing the least Good, have wisely staid at home, and refused to be present in them. *Athanasius* would not come to the Council at *Cæsarea*, when he was call'd by the Emperor, seeing he should there meet an enraged parcel of Enemies; and after-

Theodore,
lib. 1. c. 29.

Tripart. lib.
10. cap. 13.

Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 17.

Soz. lib. 5. c. 15.

wards, when he came to the Council at *Syrmiu*, and in his mind foresaw from the *Fury* and *Malice* of his *Enemies*, what the *Event* would be, he pack'd up his *Carriages*, and went away immediately. *St. Chrysostom*, tho he was call'd four times by *Letters* from *Arcadius* the *Emperor*, to an *Arrian* Council, yet staid at home. When *Maximus*, *Bishop* of *Jerusalem* sat in a Council in *Palestine*, the old *Papbnutius* took him by the hand and led him out of it, and then told him, 'tis not lawful for us to consult about these things with wicked men. The *Bishops* of the *WEST* would not be present at that Council at *Syrmiu*, from which *Atbanasius* departed. *St. Cyril*, by *Letters* appealed from the Council of the *Patropassians*, as they were call'd. *Paulinus*, *Bishop* of *Treves*, and many others, would not come to the Council of *Milan*, when they saw the *Power* and *Intrigues* of *Auxentius*; for they saw it was to no purpose to go thither, where *Faction* and not *Reason* would be heard, and were *Causes* would be certainly determined by *Affection* and *Passion*, and not by *Judgment*. But then all these tho they were to deal with *inraged* and *obstinate* *Adversaries*, yet if they had come, they should have been freely heard in the Council.

8. BUT now no man need wonder, when none of us are permitted, not only not to sit, but not so much as to be seen in their Council, so far are we from being freely heard, when the *Popes*, *Legats*, and all the *Patriarchs*, *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops* and *Abbots* are in a *Conspiracy*, and united by their

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common Crimes, all sworn in the same Oath, only sit, and have alone the Power of voting: and as if all this were not enough, have submitted all their Judgments to the Will and Humour of the Pope alone: That he who ought to answer for his own Faults, shall give Sentence in his own Cause upon himself, when that ancient Christian Liberty, which it is absolutely necessary should be very great in Councils, is totally taken away. (I say) after all this, wise and good Men ought not to wonder, if we do now, that which they have seen done before in the like case, by so many Fathers and Catholick Bishops: That is, that seeing we cannot be heard in the Council, and that the Ambassadors of Princes are had in Contempt and Scorn there; and that as if the thing were already determined and agreed, we are condemned before we are heard: if after all this we had rather sit at home and commit the business to God, than to go thither, where we shall have no place nor effect any thing. But tho we can patiently and quietly bear our own Injuries; yet why should they shut Christian and Pious Princes out of their Councils? Why do they so rudely and insolently put *them* out, and not suffer them to hear the business of Religion debated; or to understand the State of their own Churches, as if they were not Christians, or could not judge well of it; or if these Princes interpose their Authority, and do that which they may, are commanded, and ought to do, and which we know *David* and *Solomon*, and other good Princes have done; that is, if they restrain the Luxury of

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the Priests, and compel them to do their duty, and keep them to it. If they pluck down Idols, extirpate Superstitions, and restore the Worship of God to its ancient Purity. Why do they presently make an *Om-cry*, that these Princes disturb all things, break in upon other Mens Offices, and do act ill things and immodestly? What Scripture (I pray) hath excluded Christian Princes from hearing these Causes? Who besides these Men ever decreed any such Laws? But they will reply, that Civil Princes have learned to govern their States, and to manage Arms, but they understand nothing of the Mysteries of Religion. And now, what is the Pope at this day, but a Monarch or Prince, and what are the Cardinals (who are now scarcely suffered to be any other but) the Children of Kings and Princes? What are the Patriarchs, and for the most part the Arch-bishops, Bishops and Abbots others than Princes, Dukes and Earls, in the Papal Kingdom? and accordingly whithersoever they go, they are attended with a great Retinue, and adorned with Chains and Collers of Gold, *and other Ensignes of Honour*. And they have sometime also a peculiar Habit belonging to them, as *Crosses, Pillars, Hats, Myters and Palls*: which Pomp the ancient Bishops, *St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustin*, were not acquainted with; but then excepting these outward Ornaments, what do they teach, what do they speak, what do they do, and what do they Live, so as becomes, I will not say, a Bishop, but a common Christian. Is it then of so mighty a Consequence to go under

under this or that Title; and by changing nothing but a Mans Cloaths, to be called a Bishop?

9. CERTAINLY it is a proud, injurious, and unjust thing and not to be born by Christian and Prudent Princes, to permit the sum of all that concerns Religion, to be managed by such Men as these alone, who know nothing of the Mysteries of Religion, nor care to know any thing more than what belongs to their Bellies and Kitchens, and do not value any thing of Religion as worth a rush, who are no better than blind men placed in a Watch-tower; and that in the interim a Christian and a Catholick Prince should stand like a trunk or a stock, and without vote, and without giving his judgment, only observe what they are pleased to command and impose upon him, and as if he had neither Ears, nor Eyes, nor Mind, nor Heart of his own to receive without Exception, and with a blind-fold submission, do whatever they are pleased to command him, altho they are Blasphemous and wicked things, yea, altho they should command him to extinguish all Religion, and to crucifie his Saviour: For why? Can *Caiphas* and *Annas* judge well of Matters of Religion, and cannot *David* and *Ezechias*? Is it lawful for a *Cardinal*, a Martial, and a Bloody Man to sit in a Council, and is it unlawful for an Emperour and a Christian Prince? For we attribute nothing more to our Princes, than what is allowed them by the Word of God, and approved by the Examples of the best Governments. For besides that, the care of both Tables is committed

XIX. 23.

by God to a Faithful Prince, that he may thereby understand, that not only the Civil but the Ecclesiastical Polity belongs to him and to his Office: And besides all this, God hath often expressly commanded Princes to cut down the Groves, and overthrow the Statues and Altars of Idols, to transcribe for himself a Book of the Law; and *Isaiah* saith, that *Kings should be nursing Fathers to the Church, and their Queens her nursing Mothers*. Besides all these things, I say we see by Histories and the Examples of the best times, that Pious Princes did never think the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs, a thing that was foreign to their Duty.

Exod. 12.

10. *Moses* who was the Civil Magistrate, and Leader of the People, received from GOD the whole Body of their Religion, and the Order of their Sacred Rites, and delivered them to the People, and severely and sharply chastised *Aaron* their Bishop, for making the Golden Calf, and violating the Religion by Law established. And *Joshua*, tho he were no other than a Civil Magistrate, yet when he was first inaugurated and set over the People, he received express Commands concerning Religion and the Worship of God.

Joshua I.

2 Chron. XIII.

David the King, when their Religion had been miserably disordered by *Saul* a wicked King, brought back the Ark of God, that is, restored Religion. And he was not only present as an Admonisher or Perswader of the Work, but he published Psalms and Hymns, disposed the *Priests and Levites* into Classes and Orders, and in a sort governed the

2 Chron. VI.

Priests as a Priest. *Salomon* the King, built a Temple

Temple to the Lord, which his Father *David*
 had only designed in his thoughts; and after
 made an excellent Oration to the People con-
 cerning Religion and the Worship of God:
 And after this he removed *Abiathar* the High 1 King. VIII.
 Priest, and substituted *Sadoc* in his place.
 And when after this the Temple was wretch-
 edly ruined by the Vice and Negligence of
 the Priests, *Ezechias* the King commanded it 2 Chr. XXIX.
 to be cleansed of its Rubbish and Dirt, the
 Lamps to be lighted, Incense to be offered,
 and the Sacred Rites to be performed accor-
 ding to the ancient Order: And caused the
 Brazen Serpent that was then irreligiously
 worshipped by the People, to be taken away
 and reduced to Dust. *Josaphat* the King 2 King. XVIII.
 overthrew and took away all the High Places, 2 Chr. XVII.
 and destroyed the Groves, by which he per-
 ceived the Worship of God was hindered, and
 the People by a Private Superstition, diverted
 from attending the Service of God in the pub-
 lick and common Temple, to which they
 were bound to go three times in the Year
 out of all Parts of his Kingdom. *Josias* ano- 2 King. XXIII.
 ther King diligently admonished the Priests
 and Bishops of their duty. *Jots* the King 2 King. X.
 repressed the Luxury and Intolence of the
 Priests. *Jehu* slew the wicked false Pro-
 phets. And that I may trouble the Reader
 with no more Examples out of the Scriptures,
 and rather pass to see and consider how the
 Church has been governed since the Birth of
 Christ and the Publishing of the Gospel.
 Heretofore Christian Emperors called Coun-
 cils of the Bishops; *Constantinus* called the
Nicene Council, *Theodosius* the First the *Con-*
stantino-

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*Constantinopolitan, Theodosius the Second the Ephe-
sian, Martianus the Chalcedonian; and when
Ruffinus had alledged a Synod as making for
him, his Adversary St. Jerome, that he might
confute him, replied, Tell us what Emperor
commanded it to be assembled. And he also in
his Funeral Oration for Paula a Roman Lady,
cites the Letters of the Emperors, who had
commanded the Greek and Roman Bishops to
meet at Rome for the holding of a Coun-
cil.*

Pius IV. In
bullâ sua ad Im-
peratorem Fer-
dinandum.

11. IT is most certain that for Five hun-
dred Years the Emperor alone took care of
calling all the General Councils and Sacred
Meetings, and therefore we do now the more
admire the unreasonableness of the Bishop of
Rome, who tho he knows that during the sub-
sistence of the *Roman Empire* in its Greatness,
this was the sole right of the Emperor, and
that now Kings have succeeded to part of the
Cæsarean or *Imperial Majesty*, this Right is de-
volved to all Princes in common, yet has so
unjustly usurpt it to himself alone, and thinks
it sufficient to communicate his design of
holding a Council to the Greatest Prince in
Christendom as to his Servant. But if the
Modesty of *Ferdinand* the Emperor be so great,
perhaps because he doth not thorowly under-
stand the Papal Arts, that he can digest this
Injury; yet the Pope who pretends to so
much Sanctity, ought not to have offered him
this Affront, and thus to have arrogated to
himself another Mans Right.

12. BUT some of his Party may reply,
that the Emperor then called the Councils,
because the Bishop of *Rome* was not then ar-
rived

rived to that height of Greatness; and yet he did not even then sit with the Bishops, or at all interpose his Authority in their Deliberations and Consultations: Yes, as *Theodor- Hist. Eccl. lib. 1.*
et acquaints us, *Constantine* the Emperor cap. 5.
 did not only sit with the Bishops, but admonished them to determine the Controversie then depending, out of the Prophetick and Apostolical Writings. *In this Disputation* (said the Emperor) *concerning Divine things there is set before us, which we ought to follow, the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost; for the Books of the Evangelists and Apostles, and the Oracles of the Prophets do sufficiently shew us what we ought to think of the Will of God.* *Theodosius* another *Socrates Hist.*
 Emperor not only sat amongst the Bishops, Eccl. l. 5. c. 10.
 (as *Socrates* saith) but also was Moderator of the Dispute, and rent the Papers of the Hereticks, and approved the Sentiments and Doctrine of the Catholics. And in the Council of *Chalcedon* the Civil Magistrate (who under the Emperor governed that Council) condemn'd three Bishops, *Dioscorus*, *Juvencius*, and *Thalassius* by his Sentence for Hereticks, and *Ast. 2.*
 gave judgment that they should be deposed from that degree. In the Third, the *Constantinopolitan* Council, the Civil Magistrate not only sat with the Bishops, but also subscribed the Canons with them; *We have read* (said he) *and subscribed them.* In the Second Council of *Orange*, the Ambassadors of the Princes being Noble-men themselves, sat and not only voted concerning Matters of Religion, but also subscribed amongst the Bishops; for thus it is written in the end of that Council. *Petrus Marcellinus and Felix Liberius two Noble*

ble and Illustrious *Præfecti Prætorio* of Gaul, and Patricians have consented and subscribed. Syragrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariatho and Marcellus honourable Men (and Magistrates) have subscribed. But if the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and Patricians, or Noble-men could then subscribe the Councils, may not Emperors and Kings do it now. There were no need to prosecute so plain and apparent a point as this is, but that we have to do with a parcel of Men who use to deny the clearest things, even those things which lye plain and open before their Eyes, out of a contentious Disposition and a desire of Victory. The Emperour *Justinianus* made a Law for the correcting the Manner, and curbing the Insolence of the Clergy, and altho he was a most Christian and Catholick Emperour, yet he deposed *Silverius* and *Vigilius* two Popes, Successors of St. Peter, and Vicars of Jesus Christ, as they are now called.

13. AND now seeing that Princes have imployed their Authority upon Bishops, received commands from God concerning Religion, brought back the Ark of God, composed Sacred Hymns and Psalms, governed the Priests, made publick Discourses concerning the Worship of God, purged the Temple, demolished High Places, burnt Idolatrous Groves, and have admonished the Priests concerning their Office, and given them Laws of Living, have slain wicked Prophets, deposed Bishops, called Councils of Bishops, and sate with them, and taught them what they should do, have punished Heretical Bishops, have taken cognizance of Religion,

gion, subscribed Councils, and given Sentence in them, and done all this, not by the command of another, but in their own Names, and that rightly and piously; shall we say after all this, that the care of Religion belongs not to them? Or that a Christian Prince, who is pleased to concern himself in these things acts ill, immodestly and wickedly? In all these Affairs the most Ancient and most Christian Kings and Emperors have intermeddled, and yet were never accused of Impiety or Immodesty for so doing; and will any pretend to find either more Catholick Princes, or more Illustrious Examples.

14. BUT now if they might do all these things, tho they were only Civil Princes, and governed their several States? Wherein have our Princes offended, who tho they are in the same Authority, may (it seems) not do the same things? Or wherein consists the wonderful force of their Learning, Wisdom, and Holiness, that contrary to the Custom of all the Ancient and Catholick Bishops, who have heretofore deliberated with Princes concerning Religion; *they* should now reject and exclude Christian Princes from the cognizance of the Cause now depending, and from all Participation and Congress with them in their Councils? But yet it cannot be denied they have taken a prudent care for themselves and the upholding their Kingdom, which they foresaw otherwise would soon have perished. For if they who are placed by God in the highest Station, had once seen and understood these Mens Arts, that the Commandments of Christ are contemned by them, that

that the light of the Gospel is obscured and extinguished by them; that they play tricks with, and delude them, and shut up against them the entrance into the Kingdom of God: They would never so patiently have suffered themselves to be so proudly despised, and injuriously scorned and abused. But now on the other hand, they have rendred all Princes obnoxious and subject to them by their blindness and Ignorance.

15. WE (as I said before) have done nothing in the changing of Religion, either insolently or rashly; nothing but with great deliberation and slowly; Nor had we ever thought of doing it, except the Will of God undoubtedly and manifestly opened to us in the most Sacred Scriptures, and the necessity of our Salvation had compelled us so to do; for altho we have departed from that Church which they call the Catholick Church, and thereupon they have kindled a great envy against us in them, who cannot well judge of us, yet it is enough for us, and ought to be so to any prudent and pious man, who considers seriously of his Salvation, that we have only departed from that Church which may err, which Christ who cannot err, so long since foretold should err, and which we see clearly with our Eyes has departed from the Holy Fathers, the Apostles, Christ himself, and the Primitive and Catholick Church. And we have approached as much as possibly we could, to the Church of the Apostles, and ancient Catholick Bishops and Fathers, which we know was yet a Perfect, and as *Tertullian* saith, an

unspotted Virgin, and not contaminated with any

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Idolatry or great and publick Error. Neither have we only reformed the Doctrine of our Church, and made it like theirs in all things, but we have also brought the Celebration of the Sacraments, and the Forms of our Publick Rites and Prayers to an exact resemblance with their Institutions or Customs. And so we have only done that which we know Christ himself and all pious and good Men have in all Ages ever done; for we have brought back Religion, which was foully neglected and depraved by them, to her Original and first State; for we considered that the Reformation of Religion was to be made by that which was the first Pattern of it: For this Rule will ever hold good against all Hereticks, saith the most ancient Father *Tertullian*, *That that is true which is first, and that is adulterated and corrupted which is later.* *Irenæus* doth often appeal to the most ancient Churches who were the nearest to Christ, and which therefore were not at all likely to have erred. And why is not that course now taken also? Why do we not return to a Conformity with the most Ancient Churches? why cannot that be now heard amongst us, which was pronounced in the Council of *Nice*, without the least contradiction or opposition from so many Bishops and Catholick Fathers; *ἡ δὲ ἀρχαία καὶ πρώτη.* LET THE OLD CUSTOMS STAND FIRM? When *Esdra*s was to rebuild the Temple, he did not send to *Ephesus*, tho there was there a most beautiful Temple of *Diana*, which was adorned most exquisitely; and when he was to restore the Rites and Ceremonies, he did not



not send to Rome, tho perhaps he might have heard there of * *Hecatombs*, &c. and the ritual Books of *Numa Pompilius*; he thought it was sufficient for him, if he set before him as an example, and followed the ancient Temple built by *Solomon* according to the Prescription of God Almighty, and the ancient Rites and Ceremonies which God

* The Author mentions in this place *Hecatomba*, *Solitaurilia*, *Leſiſternia*, and *Supplications*, Heathen Rites that cannot be supposed to be easily understood by an English Reader, and are not worth the while to expound them at length.

Hagg. II. 3, 4.
&c.

had expressly commanded *Moses*. When the Temple was rebuilt by *Esdraſ*, and the People might seem to have a just cause to rejoyce in so very great a Blessing granted to them by the Great and Holy God; yet *Haggai* the Prophet brought Tears from all their Eyes, because they that were yet living, and had seen the Structures of the former before it was destroyed by the *Babylonians*, did well remember how far this latter was from the splendor of the former Temple. But on the contrary, they would have thought it excellently restored, if it had answered the Model, and represented the Majesty of the old Temple.

16. *St. Paul*, that he might reform the Abuses of the Lords Supper, which the *Corinthians* began even then to corrupt, proposed to them the Institution of it by Christ to follow. That (saith he) have I delivered to you which I received of the Lord. And Christ, that he might refute the Errors of the Pharisees in another case, sends them up to the beginning. In the beginning (saith he) it was not so. And that he might shew the Sordidness and Avarice of the Priests. This, saith he, in the beginning, was a House of Prayer,

Prayer, that Men might in it pray to God Religiously and Purely; and so you ought still to have kept it, for it was not built to be a *Den of Thieves*. So all religious and approved Princes in Scripture, are especially honoured with this Commendation, that *they walked in the ways of David their Father*; that is, that they returned to the Original and Fountain, and restored Religion to its first Integrity. And so we seeing all things perverted by them, and that there was nothing left in the Church of God but miserable Ruines, thought it was but reasonable to set before us those Churches for our Example, which we were sure had not erred, and had neither private Masses, nor unintelligible and barbarous Prayers, nor that Corruption of the Holy Rites, or other Fooleries. And desiring to restore the Church of God to its first Integrity [and Purity] we would not seek any other Foundation to build upon, than what was laid by the Apostles, that is, by our Saviour *Jesus Christ*.

17. WHEN therefore we had heard God himself speaking to us in his word, and had seen and considered the illustrious Examples of the Ancient and Primitive Church, and that the expectation of a *General Council* was very uncertain, and the event that would follow it much more uncertain; and especially when we had the utmost certainty what was the Will of God, and therefore thought it a Sin to be too solicitous and anxious what the opinion of Men might be: After all this I say we could no longer deliberate *with flesh and blood*; but proceeded and have accordingly

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ly done that which may both lawfully be done, and which hath already been often done, by many pious Men and Catholick Bishops, that is, to take care of our own Church in a Provincial Synod. For so we see the ancient Fathers ever took that course, before they came to a General and Publick Council of the whole World; and there are still extant the Canons made in Muncipial or Provincial Councils at *Carthage* under *St. Cyprian*, at *Ancyra*, *Neocaesarea*, and at *Gangra* also in *Paphlagonia*; all which, as some think, were held before the name of the *Nicene* General Council was thought of. And in this manner without any General Council by a private dispute they of old opposed the *Pelagians* and *Donatists*. So when *Constantine* the Emperor openly favored *Auxentius* a Bishop of the *Arrian* Party, *Atbanasius* a most Christian Bishop did not appeal to a General Council, in which he saw nothing could be done, by reason of the Power of the Emperor, and the great partiality and stiffness of the Faction; but to his own Clergy and People, that is to a Provincial Council.

18. SO it was decreed in the *Nicene* Council, that twice in the year, and in a *Carthaginian* Council, that at least once in a year Meetings of the Bishops should be celebrated in every Province, which the Council of *Chalcedon* saith was done, that if any Errors or Abuses arose any where, they might presently and upon the spot be extinguished. And so when *Secundus* and *Paladius* rejected the Council of *Aquileja*, because it was not a Publick and General Council, *St. Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* replied,

replied, that it ought not to seem new or strange, if the Bishops of the West assembled in Provincial Conventions or Synods; for it had been not seldom done by the Western Bishops before, and was very frequently by the Greek Bishops. So Charles the Great, Emperor of Germany, held a Provincial Council in Germany, for the taking away Images out of the Church against the second Nicene Council, which had determined for them; nor is this thing new and unheard of in England, for we have heretofore had many Provincial Synods, and have governed our Church by our own domestick Laws, without the Interposition of the Popes of Rome, or any other foreign Bishops or Churches. What need is there of many words? Certainly those greatest and fullest Councils, of which these Men so often Glory, if they be compared with all the Churches which throughout the World own and confess the Name of Christ, what I pray can they seem to be, more than some Private Councils of the Bishops, and a sort of Great Provincial Synods? For tho perhaps Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark and Scotland should meet: yet, Asia, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Aethiopia, India and Mauritania, in all which places there are many Christians and Bishops would yet be absent: And how could such a Council as this ever be reputed a General Council by any understanding Man? And when so many and such considerable parts of the World are absent, how can they pretend to have the Consent of the whole World? Or what kind of Council was the last at Trent, or how could it in any sense

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be said to be General, when only Forty Bishops met there, out of all the Christian Kingdoms in *Europe*; and some of them too were so very Eloquent, that it had been fit to send them to the Grammar Schools again; and so Learned, that they had never in all their Lives read the Bible over. But be these things as they will, the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ doth not depend upon General Councils, or as *St. Paul* saith, upon *Mans Judgment*. But if they who ought to take care of the Church will not understand, and will be wanting to their duty, and will harden their hearts against God and against his Christ, and still go on to pervert the direct and streight ways of the Lord, God will make the stones to cry out, and endow Infants with an Oratorical Eloquence, that there may ever be some to confute their Shams; for God can protect and enlarge his Church, not only without the help, but against the opposition of Councils: *There be many Devices in Mans heart* (saith *Solomon*) *but the Counsel of the Lord, that shall stand*; for there is neither Wisdom, nor Prudence, nor Counsel against the Lord; for saith *Hilary*, *Those things that are set up by Humane Industry, do not continue long: the Church was otherwise built, and must be preserved by other means*; for she was built upon the Foundations of the Apostles and Prophets, and is fixed, and cemented together by one corner stone *Jesus Christ*.

1 Cor. 4. 3.

Prov. 19. 21.

In Psalm 126.

18. VERY elegant, and to our times, most seasonable are the Words of St. *Jerome*, In *Prophet. Nahum. cap. 3.*
As often (saith he) as the Devil lulls any a sleep with the sweet Blandishments of his Sirens, the Holy Scriptures never fail to awaken them with a Surge qui dormis, elevare, & illumi- Eph. 5. 14.
*nabit te Christus. Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the Dead, and Christ shall give thee Light. At the coming of Christ, and of the Word of God, and of the Ecclesiastical Doctrine; when the time of the Ruine of Nineve, that beautiful Harlot is come; then shall the People awake, which had before been lull'd a sleep under their former Teachers, and shall pass to the Mountains of the Scriptures; there shall they find the Mountains of Moses and Joshua the Son of Nun; the Mountains of the Prophets, and the Mountains of the New Testament, the Apostles and Evangelists; and when the People have fled to these Mountains, and are exercised in the reading of them, tho they find no Teacher (for the Harvift shall be great, and the Labourers few) yet the Industry of the People shall be approved, in that they have fled to these Mountains, and the Negligence of their Teachers shall be reprobated. Thus hath St. *Jerome* written so very plainly, that here is no need of an Interpreter; and with so great a Congruity to the Events which have happened in our Times, that it looks as if he had designed to foretel and describe to us, with a Prophetick Spirit, the whole State of our Times, the Ruine of that richly adorned Babylonish Harlot, and the Reformation of the Church of God, the Blindness and Negligence of the Bishops, and the Avarice and Zeal of the People. For who can*

be so blind, as not to see that these were the Masters, who, as St. *Ferome* saith, led the People into Error, and stupified them in it; or that *Rome*, their *Nineve*, which was once painted with the most lovely Colours, is not now better known and less valued; or that pious Men being now as it were awakned out of a deep Sleep, have not betaken themselves to the Mountains of the Scriptures, the Word of God, and the Light of the Gospel, without ever expecting the Councils of such Teachers as these?

19. *BUT* without the Popes Consent at least (some may think) these things ought not to have been attempted, because he is the Bond that uniteth the Christian Society; he is that one Priest whom God means in Deuteronomy, from whom Counsel was to be expected in all difficult Cases, and from whom the Judgment of Truth was to be fetched; and if any man should dare to disobey him, he was to be put to death in the sight of his Brethren; and whatsoever he doth, he can be judged by no mortal Man, that as Christ reigns in Heaven, so he rules on Earth; that he can do whatever Christ or God himself can do; that his Consistory and Christs are one and the same; that without him there is no Faith, no Hope, no Church; that he who forsakes him, rejects his own Salvation. For thus the Canonists the Flatterers of the Pope, write not very modestly of him, for they could scarce say more, and certainly not greater things of Christ himself. As for us, we have not forsaken the Pope for any humane Pleasure or worldly Profit, and we wish passionately, he would behave himself so, that there should be no need of a

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Departure from him ; but so it was, except we left him, there was no coming to Christ. Nor will he now enter a League with us upon any other terms than those proposed by *Nabash King of Ammon*, to the men of *Fabeth-gilead*, that he may thrust out all our right Eyes ; for he will deprive us of the Holy Scriptures, the Gospel of our Salvation, and of all that Hope we have in Christ Jesus, for upon other Conditions no Peace with him can be had. 1 Sam. 11. 2.

20. AND as to that which so many of them accustom themselves to extol so very much, that the Pope only is *St. Peters Successor*, as if upon that account, he always carried the Holy Ghost in his Bosome, and so could not err ; it is an airy and a silly Pretence. The Grace of God is promised to pious Souls, and to those that fear God, and not affixed to Chairs and Successions. *Riches* (saith *St. Jerome*) may render one Bishop more powerful than another ; but yet all Bishops, what ever they are, are the Successors of the Apostles. But if the Place and Inauguration be it they so much rely on, both *Manasses* succeeded *David*, and *Caiaphas*, *Aaron*, and an Idol hath often stood in the House of God. Long since one *Archidamus* a *Lacedemonian*, made a mighty boasting that he was descended from *Hercules* ; one *Nicostratus* chastised his Insolence, by telling him it did not seem probable that he could be descended from *Hercules*, because *Hercules* made it his Business to rid the World of bad Men, but (saith he) you make all the good men you can bad. And when the *Pharisees* boasted of their Succession and Lin-

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nage, that they were of the Blood of *Abraham*, Christ replied, *ye seek to kill me, a Man that hath told you the Truth which I have heard of God; this did not Abraham—ye are of your Father the Devil, and the Lusts of your Father ye will do.* But now suppose we should grant something to Successions, doth the Pope only succeed *St. Peter*? In what Thing? in what Religion? in what Function? in what part of his Life? What one thing ever had *St. Peter* like the Pope, or the Pope like *St. Peter*? unless they will say, that when *St. Peter* was at *Rome* he never taught the Gospel, he never fed the Flock; that he took away the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, hid his Lords Treasure; that he only sat in the *Lateran*, and with his Finger, pointed out all the Spaces of Purgatory, and the several sorts of Pains there; presently, and at his Pleasure, dismissed some Souls for Money, and sent other miserable Souls into Torture; that he taught them the use of private Masses, which might be mumbled over in every Corner; that he muttered the sacred Mysteries in a low soft Voice, and in a strange Language; that he hanged up the Eucharist or consecrated Bread in every Church, and enshrined it on every Altar, and carried it before him whither-ever he went on an ambling Jenner, with Lights and Bells. That he consecrated Oyl, Wax, Wooll, Bells, Calices, Temples and Altars with his sacred Breath: that he sold Jubilees, Graces, Immunities, Expectancies, Preventions, first Fruits, Palls, the use of Palls, Bulls, Indulgencies and Pardons; that he call'd himself the Head of the Church,

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the High Priest, the Bishop of Bishops, and the only most Holy ; that he usurp'd Authority over other Churches ; that he exempted himself from all Civil Power ; that he made Wars, set Discord amongst Princes ; that he was carried upon the Shoulders of Noble men in a gilded Chair, with a Crown full of Labels or Tassils, with a *Persian* Gallantry ; adorned with a royal Scepter and a golden Diadem glittering with Jewels. Did St. *Peter* heretofore do all these things at *Rome*, and as it were from hand to hand deliver them down to his Successors ? for all these fine things are now done at *Rome*, and that in such manner, as if nothing else ought to be done.

21. UNLESS perhaps they would be better pleased with turning the Table, and saying, that the Pope does all those things which we know heretofore St. *Peter* did ; that he travails into all Countries, preacheth the Gospel, not only publickly, but privately from House to House ; that he insisteth opportunely and inopportunely, in season and out of season ; that he doth the Work of an Evangelist, and performs the Ministry of Christ ; that he is the Watch-man of the House of *Israel* ; that he receives the Oracles and Word of God, and delivers them, as he received them, to the People ; that he is the Salt of the Earth, the Light of the World ; that he feeds not himself, but the Flock ; that he doth not intangle himself with the Civil Affairs of this Life ; that he doth not exercise Lordship and Dominion over the People of the Lord ; that he doth not so much seek to have others minister to, and serve him, but

1 Peter. 5. 1.
He styles him-
self Ο' συ-
νεβίτου &
κ' μαγιστρου;
that is, your
Fellow Pres-
byter, or Co-
priest, which
is not so plain-
ly rendred in
our English
Version as it
might be.

rather that he may serve and assist others; that he thinks with *St. Peter*, that all Bishops are his Companions and Equals; that he submitteth himself to Princes, as to them that are sent by God; that he renders to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*, and (which all the ancient Bishops of *Rome* without exception have done) calls the Emperor his Lord. Now unless the Popes at this day do all these things, or that *St. Peter* did all the other which we have set forth in the foregoing Paragraph, there seems to be no reason why he should so strangely value himself upon the Account, either of *St. Peters* Name or Succession.

22. THERE is much less cause for them to complain so dreadfully as they do, of our departure from them, and to recal us back again to their Society and Faith. There is a Story that one *Cobilon* a *Lacedæmonian*, being sent to make a League with the King of *Persia*, and finding by chance his Courtiers playing at Dice, he return'd forthwith, without dispatching or mentioning the Business he came about. Being examined upon his return home why he had not executed the publick Commission they had given him, he replied, that it seemed to him to be a great Dishonour to their Common-wealth, if he had made an Alliance with a parcel of Dicers. Now, if we should return to the Pope and the Popish Errors, and make a League, not only with Dicers, but with men infinitely more debauch'd, it would not only bring an ill Report upon our Fame and Reputation, but would be pernicious and destructive to

us, by incensing the Wrath of God against us, and burthening and wasting our Consciences; for we have only left him, who we saw had for many Ages blinded the Nations of the Earth, and departed from him, who with too much Insolence, useth to pretend that he cannot err, and that whatever he doth, he cannot be judged by any mortal man, no, not by Kings nor Emperors, nor all the Clergy, nor all the People, tho he should carry a thousand Souls with him to Hell; from him who assum'd Dominion, not only over Men, but over the Angels of God, commanding them when he pleased to go and come, and carry Souls to Purgatory, and bring them back again as his Holiness thought fit. Whom *Gregory* the Great stil'd plainly the Fore-runner and Harbinger of Antichrist, and an Apostate from the Faith; from whom those * Champions, who now so vigorously opposed the Gospel, and that Truth they are very well satisfied of, have every man of them heretofore fallen, and would now again freely and willingly leave him, if the Note and Shame of being thought too too inconstant, and their Credits with the People did not hinder them from it. Lastly, we have departed from him, to whom we were no way bound, and who hath nothing to pretend for our Submission to him; but I know not what Genius of the Place and the Succession he possesseth.

* I suppose by this Expression, he means the several English Bishops who had been Protestants in the Reign of *Edward* the 6th. and turning Papists again in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, were ashamed to take a third

turn now in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, and so not only stiffly persisted now in Popery, but were more clamorous against the Reformation than others were. *Heylin*, his *Ecclesia Restaurata*, Anno primo *Eliz.* pag. 286.

Henry the 2d.

John.

23. AND we of all the Nations in Christendom have had the greatest reason to desert the Pope ; for our Kings (even those who followed the Faith and Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, with the utmost observance and deference) a long time since, sufficiently felt the weight of their Yoke, and groan'd under the Tyranny of the Papal Kingdom ; for the *Roman Bishops* pluckt the Diadem from off the Head of our *Henry* the 2d. and compell'd him to wait upon their *Legate* in a private Habit, without any of the Insigns of Majesty that he might be exposed to the Contempt of all his Subjects. And another Bishop of *Rome* armed against King *John*, another of our Princes, the Bishops and Monks, and some part of the Nobility, and absolved all his Subjects from that Oath of Allegiance they had taken to him, and at last, by the highest Impiery, not only deprived him of his Kingdom, but his Life ; and they wounded *Henry* the VIII. a most noble Prince, with their Curses and Excommunications, and stir'd up against him sometimes the *Emperor*, and sometimes the King of *France*, and as much as in them lay, exposed our Kingdom to be a Prey and a Booty to them ; like a company of silly men as they were, to think so great a Prince would be frighted with Vizors and Rattles, or that so great a Kingdom could be devour'd at one mouthful ; and as it all this had not been enough, they would needs make *England* a tributary Province, and yearly, most unjustly exacted a considerable Revenue out of it ; so much has the Friendship of the City
of

of Rome cost us. Now if they extorted these great Advantages from us by Impostures and ill Arts, there is no reason why we should not by good Methods and Laws recover them back again: but if on the other side, our Kings induced by an Opinion of their simulated Holiness, in the darknets of those times freely bestowed these things on them, upon the account of Religion, there is now very good reason that our latter Kings, having discovered the Error of their Ancestors, should take them away again, they being possess'd of the same Power with the former Kings; for every Donation becomes void, when it is no longer approved by the Will of the Giver; but it can never seem a Will, which is clouded and impeded by Error.

The Conclusion.

THUS I have acquainted thee, my Reader, that it is no new or strange thing to see the Christian Religion in these days upon its Restitution and Revival in the World, entertain'd with Slanders and Reproaches, for the same things happened to Christ himself and his Apostles. And yet, least thou shouldest be misled and imposed upon by these Clamors of our Adversaries, we have represented to thee what the whole manner of our Religion is; what we believe concerning God the Father, concerning his only Son Jesus Christ, and concerning the Holy Ghost; what our Opinion is concerning the Church, the Sacraments, the Ministry, the Holy

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Holy Scriptures, the Ceremonies of the Church, and all the other parts of the Christian Religion. We have declared also, that we detest, as pernicious to the Souls of Men, and plagues, all those Ancient Heresies that have been condemn'd by the old Councils and Holy Scriptures. That we have reduced into practise again, as much as we can possibly, the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which our Adversaries had much weakned; and that we punish all Licentious Courses of Life, and Debauchery in Manners, by our ancient and established Laws, and that with as much severity, as is fit and possible. That we preserve all Kingdoms in the same State we found them, without any Diminution or Mutation, and preserve the Majesty of our Princes intire as much as we can possibly. That we have departed from that Church which they had made a Den of Thieves, in which they had left nothing sound or like a Church, and which they themselves confessed to have erred in many things, as *Lot* left *Sodom*, or *Abraham Chaldaea*, not out of Contention, but out of Obedience to God; and have sought the certain way of Religion out of the sacred Scriptures, which we know cannot deceive us, and have return'd to the Primitive Church of the ancient Fathers and Apostles, that is, to the beginning and first Rise of the Church, as to the proper Fountain.

2. THAT we have not indeed expected the Authority or consent of the Council of *Trent*, in which we saw nothing was manag'd well and regularly, where all that entered

tered, took an Oath to one Man ; where the Ambassadors of our Princes were despised and ill treated ; where none of our Divines could be heard ; where Partiality and Ambition openly carried all things, and according to the Practice of the Holy Fathers, and the Customs of our own Ancestors, we have reformed our Churches in a Provincial Synod, and according to our Duty, we have cast off the Yoke and Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, who had no just Authority over us, nor was like either Christ or St. *Peter*, or the Apostles, or indeed, like a Bishop in any thing. Lastly, we do all agree amongst our selves in all the Doctrines and Points of the Christian Religion, and do with one Spirit and one Mouth worship God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

This Apology was pen'd before the Puritan Schism in the Church of *England* broke out.

As *Fuller* in-

forms us, they first began to appear in 1563. which was the year after this Apology was written, but it came not to an open Rupture till the year 1570. *Fuller*.

3. WHEREFORE, O Christian and Pious Reader, now thou seest the Reasons and Causes of the Reformation of Religion with us, and of our Departure from them, thou oughtest not to wonder that we should rather choose to obey our Saviour than Men. St. *Paul* hath admonished us, that we should not be carried away with every Wind of false Doctrine, and especially, that we should mark Rom. 16. 17. them which cause divisions and offences contrary to 18. the Doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them ; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Belly, and by good Words

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Words and fair Speeches deceive the Hearts of the simple. Their Impostures accordingly, like Batts and Owls, do now sometime since begin to flie and steal away before the *rising Sun*, and cannot indure the Light of the Gospel; and altho they were in some sense built and heaped almost up to Heaven, yet they sink down into Ruins of their own accord. For thou oughtest not to think that those things happened accidentally or by chance. It was certainly the Will of God, that in these times the Gospel of Jesus Christ should, in defiance of all opposition, be spread abroad in the World; and therefore men being moved by the Word of God, freely betook themselves to the Doctrine of Christ; and as for us, we sought neither Riches nor Pleasure, nor ease by this Change; for our Adversaries abound in all these, and we had a much larger Share of them whilst we continued with them.

4. NOR do we decline Concord and Peace with Men neither, but yet we will not continue in a State of War with God, that we might have Peace with Men. *The Name of Peace* (saith St. Hilary) *is Pleasant, but then Peace and Servitude are not the same thing; for* (if according to their desire) *the Name of Christ should be suppress'd, the Truth of the Gospel betrayed, their wicked Errors be dissembled, the Eyes of Christian Men be deluded, and a plain and apparent Conspiracy be carried on against God himself; this is not* (saith that great Man) *Peace, but the conditions of a most base Slavery.* There is, saith Nazianzen, *an unprofitable Peace, and there is an useful sort of Discord; for we must*
pursue

pursue Peace with Conditions, *as far as is lawful, and in us lyeth*; and unless these Limitations may attend it, Christ himself came not to bring Peace into the World, but a Sword.

5. WHEREFORE, if the Pope does indeed desire we should be reconciled to him, he ought first to reconcile himself to God; for as St. Cyprian saith, *Schisms arise from hence, that the Head is not sought, and a Return is not made to the Fountain of the Holy Scriptures, and the Precepts of our Heavenly Master are not kept, for else it is not Peace (saith he) but War; neither can any man be united to the Church, who is separated from the Gospel.* But these men, (with whom we are concern'd) do use to make a base gain by the Name of Peace, for the Peace they seek, is only a Peace of *idle Bellies*; for all these Controversies Tit. I. 12. betwixt us and them might with great facility be ended, if Ambition, Gluttony and Luxury did not hinder it; and from hence proceed all their Tears; their Souls are in their Dishes, and all their loud Clamors and Noise, are only that they may basely and wickedly keep what they have acquired knavishly.

6. IN these times the *Pardoners, Dataries, Collectors and Pimps* of the Court of Rome make the greatest Complaints against us, who with others of their Trade, think that *great Gain is Godliness, and serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Bellies*; for in the foregoing Ages, this sort of men had a very profitable employment; but now, what

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whatever is gain'd to Christ, turns as they think, to their Loss. Yea, *his Holiness* too complains sadly that Piety is grown cold, and his Revenue is become much smaller than heretofore it was; and therefore *the good man* does his utmost to make us hated, loads us with Reproaches, and condemns us for Hereticks (without any mercy) that they who know not the real cause of all this, may thereby be induced to believe us the very worst of men, and yet in the interim we are not therefore ashamed, nor indeed ought we to be so, of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, because we esteem the Glory of God more than the good Opinion of Men. We know that all we teach is true, and we cannot offer Violence to our own Consciences, or give Testimony against God, for if we deny any part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ before Men, he will in like manner deny us before his Father; and if there be any that will be offended, and cannot bear the Doctrine of Christ, they are blind, and the Leaders of the Blind; but the Truth is still to be preached and owned, and we must patiently expect the Judgment of God.

7. AND in the interim, our Adversaries should do well to bethink themselves seriously of their own Salvation, and to put an end to their Raging Hatred and Persecution of the Gospel of the Son of God, that at last, they may not find him the Vindicator and Revenger of his own Cause; for God will not be had in derision; and men too, now see what is doing; that Flame, the more it is repress'd, with so much the greater Violence doth it break

break out again and display it self. Their Infidelity and Unbelief shall never be able to frustrate or put a stop to the Faith of God ; and if they shall still persist in the Hardness of their Hearts, and refuse to receive the Gospel of Jesus Christ. *The Publicans and the Harlots* Math. 21: 31. *shall go into the Kingdom of God before them.*

The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ open all their Eyes, that they may see that blessed Hope to which they are called, that we may altogether glorifie the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent down to us from Heaven ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be rendred all Honour and Glory to all Eternity. Amen. Amen.

The Apology of the

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AN
EPISTLE

Written by the Reverend Father in God

JOHN JEWEL,

Lord Bishop of

SARUM,

TO

SEIGNIOR SCIPEO

A Venetian Gentleman.

In Answer to a Letter of his, in which he complains of the Kingdom of *England*, for their not appearing in the Council of *Trent*, nor excusing their Absence by Letters.

SIR,

YOU are pleased to write to me with much freedom, according to the great Acquaintance which hath been between us (ever since we lived together at *Padua*, where you were employed in the publick Service of your Com-

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mon-wealth, and I in the Pursute of Learning) that both your self, and many others with you, in those Parts, do much admire, that seeing there is at this time a *General Council* call'd by the Pope at *Trent*, for the composing Controversies in Religion, and the extinguishing all Contentions that have arisen on that account; and that, whereas all other Nations are assembled there, the Kingdom of *England* alone, has neither sent any Ambassador thither, nor excused their Absence by *Envoys* or Letters; but in the mean time, without the Consent of the Council, hath chang'd almost the whole Order of their Ancient and Paternal Religion; that one of these things hath the appearance of a proud Contumacy, and the other of a pernicious Schism; for it is a great Wickedness for any man (say you) to decline the most holy Authority of the Pope of *Rome*; or to to withdraw himself, when he is call'd to a *Council* by him. And that Controversies in Religion ought not to be determined any where but in such Conventions, for there are the Patriarchs and Bishops, and the most Learned of all Orders of Men in the Church; at their Mouths the Truth is to be sought, there are the great Lights of the Church, and there the Holy Ghost is ever present, and accordingly, pious Princes have in every age referr'd all those Doubts which have happened concerning the Worship of God, to such publick Consultations. That neither *Moses*, nor *Jeshua*, nor *David*, nor *Ezechia*, nor *Jesias*, nor any other of the Judges, Kings or Priests, did ever deliberate of the Affairs of

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the Church any other way, than in a Council of the Bishops. That the Apostles of Christ and the Holy Fathers held Councils; that so the Truth was discovered, so Heresies were suppress'd, so *Arrim*, so *Eunomius*, so *Entyches*, so *Macedonius*, and so *Pelagius* were overcome, and so at this time the Dissentions of the World may be compos'd, and the Ruins of the Church repair'd, if Men would be pleas'd to lay by their Animosities and Partiality, and come to this Council; but without a Council it is utterly unlawful to attempt any Change in Matters of Religion.

2. THIS Sir, is almost the whole Sum of your Letter, and as for me, I will not now presume to give you in Answer, on the behalf of *England*, an exact Account of the reason of all our publick Transactions; nor do I think it is your Will or Expectation that I should; the Counsels of Kings are conceal'd and secret, and so they ought to be, and this you Sir know perfectly well, that they are not to be reveal'd at random to every body, or any body; and yet in compliance with that old and intimate Acquaintance that has been between us (because I see you so earnestly desire it) I will shortly and friendly tell you what my Judgment is; but as (another saith) as far as I know and may, which I doubt not, will give you an intire Satisfaction.

3. WE wonder (say you) that no Ambassadors from *England* are come to the Council. I beseech you Sir, are the *English* the only Nation who have not come to the Council?

Have you Sir been at the Council your self? Have you taken an exact Account? Have you told them exactly by Polls? Did you Sir, see there all the other Nations come together from all Parts of the World, except the *English*? But Sir, if you are so mightily in love with *Wondering*, why did you not admire this too, that neither any one of the three great Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, nor *Alexandria*, nor *Presbyter John*, nor the *Grecians*, *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Egyptians*; those of *Barbary*, *Ethiopia*, or the *Indies*, did not come to the Council too? for is there not many in those Nations who believe in Christ? have they not Bishops? are they not by Name, and in reality Christians? And Sir, did Ambassadors come from all these Nations to the Council? or will you rather say the Pope did not call them, or that they are not bound by your Ecclesiastical Sanctions?

4. BUT Sir, we have much greater reason to wonder, that when the Pope hath beforehand condemn'd us, and publickly pronounc'd us excommunicated as Hereticks, without ever hearing us make our Defence, or alledging any thing against us, he should afterwards call us to the Council; for to condemn and punish men first, and then to call them to Judgment, is a very absurd way of Procedure, a meer *usque testis*, a *Cart before the Horses*. But Sir, I would very gladly be inform'd if the Popes Intentions be to consult with us concerning Religion in this Council, whom he has condemn'd for Hereticks, as I said, or if he intends we shall stand at the

the Bar, and be obliged forthwith to change our Minds, or be immediately condemn'd again? one of these things is new or without Example, and stiffly denied to those of our Perswasion, by Pope *Julius* the third; and the other is ridiculous, if he thinks the *English* so silly, as to come to the Council for no other purpose but to be accused, and make their Defence as well as they can, and before his Holiness especially, who is long since accused himself, not only by us, but by his own party, of many great Crimes.

§. BUT Sir, if *England* only seems so stubborn to you, where are the Ambassadors of the King of *Denmark*, the Princes of *Germany*, and the King of *Sweden*, of the *Switzers*, of the *Grisons*, of the *Hanse Towns* of the Realm of *Scotland*, and of the Dukedom of *Prussia*? and now when so many of the Christian Nations are absent from your Council, it is a most foolish thing to speak of none but the *English*; but why do I speak of them? the Pope himself will not vouchsafe to come to his own Council; and did you not wonder at this too? for what Insolence is this, for any one man at his Pleasure, when he will, to call together all the Christian Kings, Princes and Bishops, and to require them to yield Obedience to him in it, and in the mean time, not meet them there himself? Sure I am, when the Apostles call'd a Council at *Jerusalem*, St. Peter the Apostle of whose Chair and Succession the Popes glory so infinitely, would not be absent. But I suppose the Pope *Pius* the 4th. who now sits in that Chair, remembers very

well what betided *John XXII.* that he had no good Fortune at his Appearance in the Council of *Constance*; for he came thither a *Pope*, but returned a *Cardinal*; and therefore the Popes ever since have very wisely taken care of themselves, and kept out of reach, and at home, and have stoutly withstood all Councils and free Debates for above forty years since; when *Dr. Martin Luther* was assaulted with all manner of Curses and Thunderbolts by the Pope, because he had begun to preach the Gospel, and reform Religion by the Word of God and with all Humility; begged that his Cause might be reserved to the Hearing and Determination of a General Council, he could not be heard; for *Leo the X.* saw very well, if the thing had been refer'd to a Council, that his own Concerns would be brought in danger, and that he might hear what he would not.

6. THE Name of a *General Council* sounds well, if it be conven'd as it ought, and Men would lay by their Passions, and refer all things to the Word of God, submitting to the Truth only; but if Piety and Religion are openly oppress'd, if Tyranny and Ambition are confirm'd, if Factions, Gluttony and Luxury are encouraged, there can then be nothing thought of that is of worse Consequence to the Church of God. And all this I have said upon a Supposition, that there is such a Council somewhere as you mention, and yet I heartily believe there is none at last; but if indeed there be any where any Council at all, it must be a very obscure private Council; for tho we are at no very
great

great distance from the Place, yet we could never hear what Bishops were met, nor what was done, nor indeed whether any Bishops at all would meet. And about twenty months since, when this Council was first call'd by Pope Pius, *Ferdinandus* the Emperor made answer, that *tho* all other things were agreeable, yet the Place the Pope had chosen did very much displease him, for that, *tho* Trent was a fine City, yet it was not convenient for all the Nations, and besides, could not possibly entertain that great Number of Persons who did usually follow a general Council. And almost the same Answer was generally given by all the Christian Princes, and some of them answered much more sharply; and therefore we thought all these fine Shews, would, together with the Council, end in smoak.

29th. of November. 1560.
So that this Letter was writ about August 1560.

1562

7. BUT I pray Sir, who call'd this Council, and assembled the World together? you will say *Pope Pius* the IV. and why he, rather than the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*? by what Authority and Example of the Primitive Church, and by what Law hath he done this? did *Peter*, *Linus*, *Cletus* or *Clemens* thus put the World in commotion by their Edicts? this, during the Integrity and Prosperity of the Roman Empire, was a sole Privilege of the Emperor; but now that the Power of the Empire is diminished, and that the several Kingdoms in Christendom have shared the Imperial Power amongst them, this Power is devolved to all the Christian Kings and Princes. Now Sir, search all the Annals, and gather together all the Memoirs of Antiquity, and you shall find that

that all the ancient Councils, as those of *Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople*, were call'd by the Emperors of *Rome, Constantinus, Theodosius* the First and Second, and *Martianus*, and not by the Popes of *Rome*.

8. POPE *Leo*, a Man sufficiently kind to himself, and who did not in any thing neglect the Authority of his See, did yet most humbly supplicate *Martian* the Emperor, that he would be pleas'd to call a Council in *Italy*, because that Country did then seem most convenient for that purpose; his Words are these: *All the Priests do most earnestly beseech your Clemency, that You would be pleased to command a General Synod to be celebrated in Italy.* But this Emperor, that he might shew that he had the Right of calling Councils, and none but he; commanded the Council to meet at *Chalcedon* in *Bisbynia*, and not in *Italy*, where the Pope did most violently desire it should have been held. And when *Ruffinus*, in the Contest which he had with *St. Jerome*, alledged a Synod, tell us (said *St. Jerome*) what Emperor commanded it to meet; *St. Jerome* did not think a General Council of any great Validity, except some of the Emperors call'd it. Now I do not inquire what Emperor commanded the Bishops to meet now at *Trent*; but only whether the Pope (who takes so much upon him) hath consulted with the Emperor about holding this Council, and what Christian King or Prince has he prae-acquainted with his Will? Now to break in upon the Rights of another, and to assume to a mans self what belongs to another man
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by Fraud or Force is injurious, and for him to abuse the Clemency of Princes, and to command them as if they were his Servants, is a superlative and intolerable piece of Injury and contumely, and it would be an equal Injustice in us to confirm and allow that Injury and Insolence of his by our Compliance; and therefore if we should only reply, That this Council of yours at *Trent* is not lawfully call'd, and that nothing relating to it has been rightly and orderly managed by Pope *Pius*, no man can with any Justice blame our Absence.

9. I shall not here trouble you with an exact account of the Injuries our Nation hath received from the Popes of *Rome*; that they have snatch'd the Scepters out of the Hands, and plucked the Diadems from off the Heads of our Kings; that they pretend that this Kingdom is theirs, that it is possess'd in their Right, and that our Kings are their Beneficiaries or Homagers: These are old Injuries; but of late years, they have stir'd up at one time the King of *France*, and at another the Emperor; and what this Pope *Pius* has consulted, spoken, done, contrived and threaten'd against us, need not be remembred here, for his Words and Actions are not so close and secret, but they may be known, and his Will thereby be discovered. And as to the means by which he acquired the *Popedom*, and the steps by which he climb'd to that height of Dignity, I shall say nothing. I do not say that he corrupted the *Cardinals*, by purchasing their Votes, and by Bargain and Purchase, as by Mines and Ambushes aspired

An Epistle of Bishop Jewel's,

aspired to the Popedom. I do not say neither, that very lately, when he was not able to pay the Cardinal *Caraffa*, by whose Assistance he purchased the Votes of the other Cardinals, and to whom, upon that Score, he ow'd a very considerable Sum of Money, he cast the poor man into Prison, and there basely murdered him. I leave these, and such other things as these are, rather to you, who being nearer to them, must needs see them more clearly, and understand them better than we do at this distance. And now Sir, do you wonder that we should not come to this bloody man, this Purchaser of Votes, this Bankrupt, and this Simonaical Heretick? It becomes not a wise man (believe me) to throw himself into the Chair of Pestilence, and to consult concerning Religion with the Enemies of all Religion. *My Mother* (said one) *commanded me not to approach to the Infamous*; and St. *John* the Apostle, durst not remain in the same Bath, and wash himself with one *Cerintbius* a Heretick, lest he should perish with him by a Thunder Clap from Heaven. *I have not sat* (said *David*) *in the Council of the Wicked. neither have I walked with the Workers of Iniquity.*

10. WELL, but be it so, for this time let it be granted, that the Right of calling Councils belongs to the Pope, and that he can (in this point) command the World; and let whatever we have said concerning the Power of the Emperor, and the Right of Kings be taken for false and vain, and let *Pius* be supposed too to be a good man; that he was rightly and lawfully chosen Pope, that he

he has not sought the Life of any man, that he has not murdered *Caraffa* in Prison ; yet it is fit that Councils should be free after all this, and that who pleaseth may be there, who cannot conveniently, may on the other side be absent ; this was the equity and moderation of better men : Princes then were not treated with so much Violence and Rudeness, so that if any person happened to stay at Home, or did not send Ambassadors to the Council, he should presently be noted by the Eyes and Fingers of all men. I beseech you Sir, what Observer kept count who was absent from the Councils of *Nice*, *Ephesus*, *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* ? but there was in none of these any Ambassadors from *England*, *Scotland*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, nor any part of *Germany*. See, read and consider the Subscriptions, and you will find what I say is true. And why do you not rather wonder that the *Britans* did not come to those full, famous, celebrated and frequented Councils ? Or that the Popes then were so wonderful patient, that they did not presently censure them for Contumacy ? But this Papal tyranny was not then grown up, it was then lawful for Pious Bishops and the Holy Fathers, without any Prejudice, to stay at Home. *Paul* the Apostle, would not trust himself to the Council of *Jerusalem*, but appealed unto *Cæsar* ; and tho *St. Athanasius* the Bishop was call'd to the Council at *Cæsarea* by the Emperor, yet he would not come ; and he also, when he perceived the *Arrian* Party the strongest in the Council of *Syrmiun*, would not stay, but pre-

presently withdrew and went away; and the Bishops of the *West* following his Example, refused to come to that Council. *St. John Chrysostom* did not come to an *Arrian* Council, tho he was invited both by Letters and Messengers sent by *Arcadius* the Emperor. When the *Arrian* Bishops in *Palestine* were met together, and had the greatest part of the Votes on their side, *Paphnutius* an old man, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* departed out of the Convention and went away. *Cyrillus* a Bishop, appealed from the Council of the *Patropassians*; *Paulinus* Bishop of *Treves*, would not come to the Council of *Millan*, because he saw, by reason of the Favour and Power of *Constantinus* the Emperor, every thing plied under, and was over-ruled by *Auxentius* an *Arrian* Bishop. The Bishops who came to the Council at *Constantinople*, would not afterwards come to that which was holden at *Rome*, to which they were call'd also, which yet was no prejudice to them, tho they were commanded to attend there by Letters from the Emperor; it was then thought a sufficient Excuse, that they must attend the Reformation and Care of their own Churches, tho they saw that the *Arrians* then prevail'd every where, and that their Presence might have been of a mighty consequence for the abating their Rage.

II. WHAT if our Bishops should now make the same Answers, that they can spare no time from the sacred Ministry, that they are totally taken up in restoring and reforming their Churches, that they cannot be spared from home five, six, or se-

ven years, and especially in that place where they can do no good? for our Bishops have not the same leisure with those who luxuriously spend their time in Palaces at Rome, and depend upon the Cardinals, and lye at the catch for rich Preferments; for our Churches are so miserably ruin'd and perverted by the ill Management of these men, that it is neither a small time nor an ordinary Diligence that can reform them. And now we see plainly that they design a Diversion and mis-spending of our times, that when there is no need of it, we may be drawn from Home, and so may neither promote the Reformation at Home, nor be suffered by them to do it in the Council.

12. For the Pope indeed does but dissemble with the World (that you may not be deluded) he intends no Council: nor are you to think that he acts any thing sincerely and truly. *He that knows not how to dissemble* (said Lewis the 11th. to Charles the 8th. his Successor) *knows not how to Reign*: And much more he that knows not how to dissemble, and conceal his Counsels under the Gravity of his Looks, as things go now, will never be able to act the part of a Pope, *for that See is supported meerly by Hypocrisie*; and is forced to supply the Defects of a natural Strength with pretended Colours and Shews. For if the Popes did indeed think that a General Council was of such wonderful efficacy for the suppressing Schisms, why did they so very long delay so necessary a means of it? Why did they sit still thirty years, and suffer Luther's Doctrine to take root? Why did they
not

An Epistle of Bishop Jewel's,

not presently call a Council? Why did they at last call the Council of *Trent* with great unwillingness and reluctance, and more by the Impulse of *Charles* the Emperor, than by their own free Wills? and when the Council had sit almost ten years at *Trent*, why after so tedious a Consultation, was nothing brought to an Issue? Why did they leave their Business undone? Who hindred them? Who withstood them? Believe me in this my Brother, the Pope has no design now that a Council should meet, or Religion be reform'd, which they perfectly despise. All their Business, Desires and Contentions, aim at nothing but the deluding the Minds of Religious Men, and the whole World, with the Expectation of a General Council.

13. THEY see long since that their Revenues are diminished and ruin'd, that their Arts have not the same success they have had heretofore, that an Incredible number of men do every day fall off from them; there is not now that vast concourse of People to *Rome*; men do neither esteem nor purchase their *Indulgences*, *Interdictions*, *Benedictions*, *Absolutions*, and *vain Bulls* at the Rate they have done; the Sales of their *Ceremonies* and *Masses*, and all that Whorish Paint is not much valued; so that a very great part of their Pomp and Tyranny is fallen, their *Incoms* reduced to a lower Ebb than ever; they and their Partizans are become the Scorn of Children, so that now their whole Concern is at the Stake: Nor is there any wonder that those things should fall, which were supported by no roots. Our Saviour **JESUS CHRIST**
hath

hath put an end to them, not by Arms or the force of Soldiers, but by an Heavenly Impulse, and the Breath of his mouth; and he will intirely consume and abolish them by the brightness of his coming: such is the force of the Word of God, the Power of the Gospel; and these are the Weapons which will bring down every high thing which is built up or exalted against the Knowledge of God. This Doctrine shall be preached in spite of all throughout the World, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it; the Merit-mongers Shops at Rome do now lye desolate; their Wares (like the Goods of *Porfenna*) are cried at a low price, and there is scarce any to buy them; a poor Dealer in *Indulgences* does now wander about, and rarely finds a Fool that will purchase one. This Sir, is the great Concern; from hence spring the Papal Tears and Cares; they see this Light sprung out of one small Spark, and what now may be the Event when there are so many Fires kindled every where on the Earth, and so many Christian Kings and Princes own and profess the Gospel? for these men do no serve our Lord *Jesus Christ*, but their own Bellies. There goes a Story, that when *Carneades* the Philosopher was at Rome, and made that memorable Oration against Justice, amongst other things, he added this, *That this Virtue, if it was a Virtue, was not of less use to any part of Mankind, than to the Romans; for they, by Force and Stealth had subdued those Kingdoms to themselves, which of right belonged to other men, and by a most flagrant Injustice had arriv'd to the Empire of the World; and that if now*

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they should fall to the Exercise of Justice, all these must be restored to the right owners, which they possess'd so unjustly; and so they should be reduced to their Shepherds Cottages, and poor cold Sheds, which was all they had at first. And so now these, if they should lay aside their Dissimulation, and act sincerely, and do their Duty, and give every one what was truly their own, they must then return to the Staff and Scrip again, to Sobriety and Modesty, to the Labours and Duty of a Bishop; for they have heard what St. Augustin said, Bishop, is a Name of Labour, and not of Honour: and that they were no Bishops who sought more to be over the People, than to do them good, and therefore they see that the spreading of the Gospel is of less advantage to them than to any other men in the World; for if ever they should entertain a thought of reforming, they are undone, and therefore now they fill the World with Tumults and Disorders; as Demetrius the Silver-Smith heretofore did, when he saw his Trade was going down. And this is the true cause why Councils are now call'd, and the Bishops and Abbots are assembled; for this seems now the cunningest way, to prolong the time for some few years, by suspending the minds of men with Expectation: and in the interim, many things (as is usual) may happen, a War may break out, some of the Princes may dye, and the strange Inclinations of Men towards the Reformation, may be blunted by delays, and languish by degrees, and in the mean time (as one said) I hope something will be done.

14. OF old, when the *Athenians* (after they had beaten the *Persians* out of Greece) began to rebuild their Walls, which they themselves had levell'd with the Ground during the War. And the *Lacedemonians*, that they might still have the *Athenians* at their Mercy, did severely prohibit them not to do it: *Themistocles* the General of the *Athenians*, promised that he would go to *Lacedemon*, and deliberate with them about this Business; and accordingly, when he had began his Journey, that he might gain time, first he pretended a Sicknes, that he might stay a while by the way; and when at last he got to *Lacedemon*, he began one Delay after another, one while the Articles did not please him; another while, he must consider of them a while; now he must stay for his fellow Ambassadors, without whom he could do nothing; and soon after, he must send Messengers to *Athens*, to know their Pleasures, and in the interim, whilst he was spinning out the time, the *Athenians* fortified their City, that in case any Force were employed against them, they might be in a condition to repel it: and just thus our Adversaries, by gaining one day, after another, and pretending to refer all things to a Council, in the mean time build their own Walls, whilst we sit still and expect I know not what Wonders from them, and in the end; when they have taken their Measures, and put their Affairs out of danger, then they will shut us out of doors, and tell us that no Council can be held, nor any thing else done.

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15. FOR

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15. FOR it is worth the while to consider their Arts and Stratagems ; how often have Councils been call'd, and yet have not met ? how often has a small flying Rumour defeated all their Preparations, and other mens Expectations ? How often have the Purple *Dons* slipt home, without doing any thing, and adjourn'd the next Session to the ninth or tenth year ? How often has the Weather, Provisions, the Place, or the Time not suited with their Humors ? For the Pope alone calls the Councils, and dismisseth them when he will : if any thing doth not please him, or things begin to go cross to his Interest, presently you hear his *Valete & Plaudite*, *Clap your Hands and farewell*. A Council was call'd at *Basil*, great numbers assembled from all Places, many things were seriously debated: Pope *Eugenius* is condemn'd as an Heretick and a Simonaical Prelate by all the Votes ; and *Amideus*, Duke of *Savoy* substituted in his place. *Eugenius*, as he had reason, takes this ill, as a thing of bad example to Posterity ; his Power being very much above all Councils : no Council can meet (said he) but by his Order, nor determine any thing against his Will, therefore it is a lewd thing to search into his Life in a Conventicle of Bishops. So without delay, he calls the Council first to *Ferrara* in *Italy*, and then translates it to *Florence*. What is the matter I pray ? did Pope *Eugenius* think the change of Air would produce a change in their Minds, or that the Holy Ghost would give Answers more wisely in *Italy*, than he had in *Germany* ? No, he did not seek Christ in all his Changes, but his

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own dear Interest ; he saw that in *Germany*, *Sigismund* the Emperor was his Enemy, and that his authority, and the Favour he had there, was too great ; and he thought that if these Fathers were transplanted from those cold Climates into *Italy* (they might like trees removed) become more mild, and their Fruit more pleasant : for (O immortal God !) that is not now any part of the Business of a Council to find out the Truth, or suppress Falshood ; the only Business of Popes in Councils in these latter Ages, has been the confirming the *Roman Tyranny*, the promoting Wars, the imbroiling the Christian Princes, and engaging them one against another ; the Levying Money, sometimes for Expeditions into the Holy Land, at other times for the building *St. Peters Church* ; sometimes for I know not what other Uses, or rather Abuses, which all tended to promote the Luxury and Lusts of a few ill men : and these were the only Aims of all the late Councils, for as for the Errors and Abuses, as if there had been none, nothing could ever be handled.

16. *Petrus Alliaccensis* complain'd much in the Council of *Constance*, concerning the *Avarice and Insolence of the Court of Rome* : But what did he gain by it ? What part of their *Avarice or Insolence* was ever restrain'd by the Authority of any Council ? and he moved too that the number of *Holy Days*, and the Herds of lazy Monks might be diminished ; and another (in a certain Work which is call'd the *Tripartite*, and is put in the end of the Council of *Laterane*) saith, *that the whole World is scandalized, and speaks against the vast*

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Multitude of begging Fryars, and the Fathers in that Laterane Council say, *We command all men straightly for time to come, not to invent any more new Religious Orders.* From these times to ours, what has been done concerning *Holy Days* I know not, but it is highly probable there hath been no diminution of them: but the Order of Monks hath been infinitely encreased; for the late Popes have added the *Jesuits*, the *Capuchins*, and the *Theatins*, as if we had not had before a sufficient Swärm of *Idle Bel-lies*. *John Gerson*, Chancellor of *Paris* offered to the Fathers of the Council of *Constance* a Catalogue of *LXXV. Abuses in the Church of Rome*, which he earnestly desired might be reformed; but now of so great a number, what one Abuse have they since reformed? *Johannes Picus Mirandula* writes to *Pope Leo*, that he would diminish the number of vain Ceremonies, and curb the Luxury of the Priests. After this, a great number of Bishops met in the *Laterane Council*, with a mighty expectation of the whole World; but what one Ceremony did they cut off? What one Priest did they punish for Luxury and Wickedness? the Poet *Mantuan* complained (by name) of the Manners of the Church of *Rome*. *St. Bernard* the Abbot wrote thus to *Eugenius* the Pope, your Court sometimes receives good Men, but it makes none: the bad do there thrive, the good are ruin'd. And concerning the miserable state in which the Church then was, he writes that from the Crown of the Head to the Sole of the Foot there is no soundness. And again, where is he that preacheth the acceptable year of the Lord? they do not (saith he) in these

times

times keep but corrupt the Spouse of Christ; they, do not keep, but kill and devour the Lords Flock. Pope Adrian the VI. when he sent his Legate into Germany, did ingeniously and truly confess that the state of the whole Clergy was extremely corrupt: all we, the Ecclesiastical Prelates (saith he) have declined every one into his way, and there is not now one that doth good, no, not one. Albertus Pigbins confesseth, that in the very Mass, which they will have to be most sacred, and in which they place the Center of all the Christian Religion, there may be found Abuses and Errors. And why should Words be multiplied? I omit other Witnesses, for they are almost infinite; many Councils have been held since that time, and Bishops assembled; and the Synod of Basil was expressly call'd, as they then pretended, for the Reformation of the whole Clergy; but notwithstanding, from that time forward, Errors increased every where, and the Corruptions of the Clergy became twice more than they were before.

17. THE Cardinals who were nominated and chosen by Pope Paul the III. to consider the State of the Church, gave in this Answer, That there were many things faulty in the Church, and especially in the Manners of the Bishops and inferior Clergy; that the Bishops were lazy, and did not teach the People, feed the Flock, or take care of the Vineyard; that they lived in the Courts of Princes, and were rarely resident; that there was sometimes three, and at others, four Bishopricks held in commendam by one Cardinal, which tended very much to the Damage of the Church: for those multiplied Offices (as they

said) were not compatible or to be held together (nor could be well managed by any one person) and that all the Cloystered Orders should be banished out of the Church. After this, there was a Council at Trent; but did the Bishops from that time begin to feed the Flock? or did they cease from their former Non-residence, or abstain from frequenting the Courts of Princes? did the Cardinals cease from multiplying Bishopricks? or was any care taken that the Church might have no damage by it? were the Conventual Orders diminished? is Religion reformed amongst them? what occasion then was there that so many Bishops should be assembled from very distant places, or should to no purpose deliberate so many years concerning the Reformation of the Church? this in truth is just as if the *Pharisees* should pretend to restore the Temple of God to its former Sanctity.

18. THEY confess the errors and Abuses, convoke Councils, fain a great care of Religion and Piety, promise their utmost Labour and Industry for the restitution of whatever is fallen into decay, and that they will joyn with us in this Work. That is, just after that manner as the Enemies of the People of God of old said, that *they would, together with Nehemia, help to build the Temple of the Lord*; for indeed their design was not to promote the building of the Temple of the Lord, but to hinder it as much as they could possibly: they would willingly make a Peace with us, but it is upon the terms offered by *Nabash* to the Jews of *Jabesh*, if we will suffer them to bore out our right Eyes; that

is, if we will suffer them to deprive us of the Word of God, the Gospel of our Salvation.

19. FOR have they any concern for Religion? do they take any care of the Church of God, who never regarded the Wrath of God, nor the Salvation of the People, nor any part of their Office? they say, let *Pan* take care of his Sheep. They in the mean time mannage Wars, Hunt, take their Pleasures and fare deliciously. That I may not mention any thing that is more base. O immortal God! who can think that these men ever think on the Church of God or Religion? when or what Errors will these men ever remove? what Light will they afford to us? whatever you say, tho you could bring the Sun it self in your hands, yet they would never the more see. They excuse, paint, and comb as much as ever they can, the most manifest Errors, as *Symachus* or *Porphyrius* heretofore did the Heathen Errors and Follies. All their business is to perswade the World that they have not deceived the People, and that they have not err'd in any thing; or if they sometimes prevail upon themselves to reform any thing, which they never, or very rarely and sparingly do, they imitate *Alexander* the Roman Emperor, who not being totally averse to the Christian Religion, is reported to have worshiped Christ and *Orpheus* in the same Chappel; or as the ancient *Samaritans* retained together the Worship of the true God, and the Service of Idols; so they will sometimes perhaps receive some part of the Gospel upon condition that they may at the same time retain their Superstition and their doting Errors;

Errors; they receive some Truths, upon condition they may hold some other things which are false; they do so approve ours, as not to disapprove their own; and so they do not take away Abuses, but colour them over, and only new case the old Pillars.

20. THIS is their way of reforming the Church of God, thus they celebrate Conventions and Councils; the Truth is not served, but Affection, the better part is brought under by the greater; the very Name of a *General Council* is beautiful and glorious, but Poison is oftentimes given in a beautiful Cup: for it is not sufficient that some Bishops and Abbots meet in one place; the efficacy of a Council is not placed in Miters and Purple Robes; nor is whatever a Council decrees, presently to be taken for an Oracle. It was a Council of which the Prophet *Isaiah* writes thus, *Wo to the rebellious Children, saith the Lord, who assemble a Council, but not by me; take Council, saith he, and it shall come to nought*, in another place. It was a Council of which the Prophet *David* saith thus, *The Kings of the Earth stand up, and the Rulers take Counsel together against the Lord, and against his Christ*. It was a Council which condemn'd the Son of God *Jesus Christ* to the Cross; it was a Council, and celebrated at *Carthage* under *St. Cyprian*, which decreed that those that were baptized by Hereticks, when they returned to the Church should be rebaptized; which Error was afterwards forc'd to be repeal'd by so many Councils and Writings of the Fathers. And what need is there of so many Words? The second Council of *Ephesus* was openly for *Eutyches*, that the Hu-

XXX. I. according to the Septuagint version. Chap. 8. v. 10. Pſal. 2. 2.

mane Nature of Christ was changed into the Divine. The second Council of Nice decreed a manifest Idolatry in the Worship of Images. The Council of Basil, as *Albertus Pigbius* saith, decreed against all Antiquity, against Nature, against Reason, and against the Word of God. The Council of *Ariminium* wickedly decreed for *Arrius*, that Christ was not God; and to conclude, many other Councils afterwards erred too, as the *Selucian*, and the *Syrman*, which did both condemn the *Homousians* or *Catholicks*, and also subscribed to the impious Heresie of the Council of *Ariminium*. Why do you doubt? the very Council of *Chalcedon*, which was one of the four which Pope Gregory compar'd to the four *Evangelists*; Pope *Leo* made no Scruple to accuse that very Council of Temerity or Rashness.

21. **THUS** we see some Councils to have been contrary to other Councils; and that as Pope *Leo* quash'd the Acts of *Adrian*, *Stephen* of *Formosus*, *John* of *Stephen*; and that as Pope *Sabinian* commanded all the Writings of Pope Gregory to be burnt as perverse and wicked; so very often a latter Council has abrogated all the Decrees of a former. The Council of *Carthage* decreed, that the Bishop of Rome should not be call'd the highest Priest, or the Prince of the Priests, or by any other such like Title: but the latter Councils have not only call'd him the High Priest, but the Great Pontiff, and the Head of the Universal Church. The *Eliberitan* Council decreed, that it should not be lawful, that what was worshipped should be painted on the Walls of the Churches. The Council of *Constantinople* decreed, that Images

were

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were not to be endured in the Christian Churches; on the other side, the second Council of Nice did allow them not only to be erected in Churches, but also to be worshiped. The Laterane Council under Pope Julius the II. was call'd for no other purpose but to rescind the Decrees of the Council of Pisa: thus the latter Bishops frequently oppose the forgoing, and some Councils damm up the Lights of others; and these men will not be bound, even by their own Councils, any farther than they please and is for their Convenience, and *πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν, brings Grist to their Mill.* The Council of Basil decreed, that a Council of Bishops is above the Pope; but the Laterane Council under Pope Leo, decreed the Pope to be above a Council. And the Pope doth not only carry himself so as if he thought so; but also if any man is of the Opinion of this Council, he commands him to be reputed a Heretick. I pray Sir, what would you do here? whatever you say or think, either the Pope or the Council will make you a Heretick, and all the Popes for some Ages, have opposed these Truths of the Council of Basil; and therefore in the esteem of the Council of Basil, all the Popes, for all these last Ages, are Hereticks. The same Council with one Voice, deposed Pope Eugenius for Simony and Schism, and named Amideus for his Successor. But yet Eugenius did not regard the Decree of the Council, and altho' he was a Simonist and a Schismatick, yet he did not cease to be the Successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, and the Head of the Catholick Church, and in spite of all, retain'd his former Dignity,

Dignity, and was born as before on the shoulders of Noble Men magnificently and loftily. And *Amideus*, a simple man, like one unhorfed, walked upon his Feet, and thought himself happy enough, that of a *Pope* he was become a *Cardinal*. The late Council at *Trent* made a Decree, that the Bishops should teach the People, and that no one of them should at the same time have two or more Bishopricks: they on the other side, contrary to the Canon of their own Council, enjoy Pluralities, and teach nothing, and so they make such Laws as they will not be bound by but when they please; at this rate have they ever valued their own Councils and Decrees.

22. AND now (Sir) what reason have we to expect at this time a better Event of things? for, for what cause, upon what hope and Expectation is the Council held? be pleased Sir, to consider with your self but this one thing, what kind of Men they are, upon whose Fidelity, Learning and Judgment the weight of the whole Council, the debating all those great Questions, and the sum of the whole Affair depends? they are indeed call'd Abbots and Bishops grave Men, and great Names, and, as it is thought, of great account in the Management of the Church of God; but if you strip them of the Names, Robes, and Personages of such Men, what have they that is at all like a Bishop or an Abbot? for they are no Ministers of Christ, no Dispensers of the Mysteries of God; they do not attend the reading, nor teach the Gospel, nor feed the Flock, nor till the
Ground

Ground, nor plant the Vineyard, nor light the Fire, nor carry the Ark of the Lord, nor perform the Ambassie of Christ, nor Watch, nor do the Work of an Evangelist; they do not fulfil their Ministry, they entangle themselves in secular Affairs; they hide the Treasure of their Lord, and take away the Keys of the Kingdom of God; they neither go in themselves, nor do they suffer others to enter; they beat their Fellow Servants; they feed themselves and not the Flock; they sleep, they snore, they feast, they fare deliciously; they are Clouds without Water, Stars without Light, dumb Dogs, slow Bellies, and as *St. Bernard* said, *they are not Prelates but Pilats; not Teachers, but Seducers; not Pastors, but Impostors: the Servants of Christ* (saith he) *serve Antichrist*. And these are the only men to whom the Popes will allow a Place and Vote in the Council; in their Judgments and Power will they have the whole Care and Administration of the Catholick Church to be: Pope *Pius* hath now chosen these alone to put his Trust in; but O good God! what kind of Mortals, what sort of Men are these? and yet as they think, all these Queries are ridiculous: for it is not, say they, one farthing difference, whether they be Learned or Pious or no, or what they will or think; for in truth it is sufficient if they can but ride upon a Mule; and with great State and Noise make the publick *Cavalcade* to the Council, and when they came there say nothing. If Sir you will not believe me, and conceive I have said all this for Diverſion and Sport, be but pleased to hear the Honorable Judgment,

ment, and what the most sacred Faculty of the whole *Sorbon* decreed in this case; that, say they, which our Master have said concerning a legitimate Assembly, is, *That it is to be noted, that to the legitimate assembling of a Council, it is sufficient that the Solemnity and Form of the Law be solemnly observed: for if any man would bring this in question, whether the Prelates that sit there have a good Intention, and whether they be learned, and whether they have the Knowledge of the Holy Scripture, and a mind well disposed to sound Doctrine, the Process would be infinite; for they it seems who sit as mute as the Statues of Mercury, and know not in the least what Religion is, will yet answer wondrous well and aptly concerning the sum of Religion, and whatever they say, cannot possibly err.*

23. AND all these are bound to the Bound by Popes Interest, not only by their Error and Oath. Ignorance, but by the Tye and Religion of an Oath; so that if they should chance to think right, yet, unless they will be prejured, they must not speak what they think, and openly profess and own the Truth; so that they must of necessity be false to God or man, for they all swear in this very form: J. N.

Bishop, from this hour forward will be faithful to St. Peter, and to the Holy Apostolick Church of Rome; to my Lord Pope N. and to his Successors canonically entering: I will neither be of Counsel nor in any Action whereby he may lose his Life or Limbs, or be taken Prisoner; that Counsel which he shall impart to me by Letters or by Messengers, I will discover to man to his Damage: I will be a Helper to defend the Papacy of the Church of Rome, and the Canons of the Holy Fathers, and to retain them

The Form of the Bishops Oath to the Pope.

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them against all men. Of old, when the Priests of *Apollo Pythius* spoke plainly in favour of *Philip King of Macedonia*, there were some who facetiously said, that *Apollo* began *φιλιππιζειν*, to Philippize. And now we see plainly, that nothing is decreed in the Council but by the Will and Consent of the Pope; why may we not say that the Oracles of the Councils do *παπικειν*, Papize, that is, speak nothing but what the Pope please? *Verres* of old acted wisely, of whom it is reported, that being plainly guilty of many Crimes, he would not commit his Reputation and Fame to any but *confiding men of his own Flock and Party*. But yet the Pope is many degrees wiser, for he will not have any Judges but such as he knows will not determine any thing against his Will, because they have the same Interest he hath, and esteem all things by the relation they have to their Pleasures and Bellicies; and yet if they would they *could not* do otherwise, because they are bound to him by an Oath too: indeed they place the Bible in the midst of the Council, because they would seem not to act any thing against the Prescription thereof, and yet they only look upon it at a good distance, but never read one word of it: in truth they bring with them a prejudicated Sentence, and never attend what Christ saith, or determine any thing, but as it best pleaseth them.

24. AND thus is all that Liberty which ought to be in all Consultations, and especially in those which concern holy things, and which doth best besit the holy Spirit, and the Modesty of Christian Men, wholly taken away.

way. St. Paul saith, that *if any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his Peace*; but these men command him to be forthwith taken and hurried to Prison and burnt, who shall but utter any thing to the contrary: as the cruel Death of the two holy and stout men *John of Hus*, and *Jerome of Prague* is an excellent Witness against them; which two men they murdered contrary to the publick Faith, and were thereby false both to God and Man. So the false Prophet *Zedechias*, when he had made himself a pair of iron Horns, smote *Micaiah* the Prophet of the Lord, and said, *bath the Spirit of the Lord left me, and come to thee?* thus having now excluded all others, they reign in Councils alone, and have the sole Right of Suffrages, and so make and divulge such Laws as the *Epheians* did of old. Let no man (said they) *who is wiser than the rest, presume to live here, upon pain of Banishment and Transportation*: for these men will hear none of us. About ten years since, in the late Council at Trent, the Ambassadors of the Princes of Germany and of the free Towns who came thither, that they might be heard, were excluded out of the Assembly, and denied the Liberty of Speech: for the Bishops and Abbots said they would suffer no free Debate of the Cause, nor would they determine the Controversies by the Word of God; and that those of our Side were not to be heard, except they would recant; which if they refused, they were to expect no other terms in the Council, but to

1 Cor. 14. 30.

1 Kings 22. 11.

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be condemn'd; for *Julius the III.* in his *Brief*, by which he call'd that Council, publicly declared, *that if they did not change their Minds, they should be condemned for Hereticks without ever hearing their Cause.* And *Pius the IV.* who hath now resolved to call again that Council, hath by the prejudice of his own single Judgment, commanded all those who have made defection from the Authority of the Church of *Rome* (that is, the greatest part of Christendom) without ever seeing or hearing them to be taken and reputed Hereticks. They are wont to say, and that upon all occasions, *that all things are well, and that they will not suffer the least part of their Doctrine and Religion to be altered.* *Albertus Pigbius* saith, *that without the Command of the Church of Rome, the most plain place of Scripture is not to be believed.* Now is this their way to restore the Church to her Integrity? Is this their seeking Truth? Is this the Liberty and Moderation which befits a Council?

25. AND altho these things are most unjust, and most contrary to the Practice of the ancient Councils, and the Usage of modest and good Men in their Deliberations; yet it is much more unreasonable, that whereas the whole World complains of the Ambition and Tyranny of the Pope of *Rome*, and is perswaded, that until he is reduced to a better Order, all their Labours for the Reformation of the Church of God will be in vain, and nothing will be done; yet at last, all things are referred to him alone, as to the most

most equal Arbiter and Judge. But (O good God!) to what Man? I will not now say any of these things against him; that he is an Enemy of the Truth, an Ambitious Covetous Proud Man, who is already become intolerable to his own: But I say that it is the utmost pitch of Folly and Injustice, to make him the sole Judge of all Religion, who commands all his Dictates to be had in the self same Honour and Esteem as the Words of St. Peter are; and saith, that in case *he should Mislead a thousand Souls, and carry them with himself to Hell, yet no man ought to reprehend him for it*: Who saith, he can make Injustice to become Justice: Whom † *Camotensis* confesseth to have corrupted the Scriptures, that he might have a Plenitude of Power.

† In Corn. Agripp. de Vanitate Scient.

And why should I use more words? whom his own Companions and Ministers, *Joachim Abbas, Petrarcha, Marsilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, and Hieronymus Savonarola* have not obscurely hinted to be the Antichrist. To the Judgment and Will (I say) of this one Man are all things submitted, that this very Criminal may be both the Party accused, and the Judge of his own very Case; that this guilty man may sit aloft upon a Throne, and his Accusers stand beneath, whilst he gives Sentence for himself: for Pope *Fulius* has given us these just and reasonable Laws. *There is* (saith he) *no Council which is valid, nor ever shall be, unless supported by the Authority of the Church of Rome.* And *Bonifacius* the VIII. saith, that every Creature ought to be sub-

ject to the Church of Rome; and that as they tender their Salvation. And Pope Pascal useth this Expression, as if any Councils had given Laws to the Church of Rome, when in truth, all the Councils have been held, and received their Force from the Authority of the Church of Rome; and in all their Statutes, the Authority of the Pope of Rome is plainly and apparently excepted. And another saith, whatever the Pope approves or disapproves, we ought also to approve or disapprove: and what the Pope allows, no other man may disallow. And another Flatterer, who has lost all Modesty, saith, that altho the whole World should contradict the Opinion of the Pope in any thing, yet it seems but reasonable to stand to the Judgment of the Pope. And another no less impudently saith, it would be a sort of Sacrilege to dispute concerning an Action of the Pope; who, tho he is not a good man, is yet ever presumed to be such. And another more impudently, The Pope (saith he) hath a Heavenly Will, and therefore in those things which he wills, his Will is instead of a Reason to him; nor is there any man who may say to him, why dost thou act thus? And that I may pass by many other things which might be alledged here, because they are without number, and at length come to a Conclusion, Pope Innocentius the IX. more impudently than any other, useth these words, *This Judge (the Pope) may neither be judged by the Emperor, nor by Kings, nor by the whole Clergy, nor yet by all the People.* O immortal God! how little is wanting of the Pride of Lucifer. I will ascend above the North,

North, and I will be like the most bighest. If all these things are true, and the Popes have not belyed the World, what need is there of a Council? or if they will hold a sincere and free Council, let all these things be condemn'd as dishonest and insolent Lyes, and let them not only be laid aside, as to the court, and use of them, but be razed out of all Books, that the sum of Affairs may never more be left to the Will and Lust of one man; and he too for many most just causes suspected. But now on the contrary, *the Popes say they cannot err, and that the Word of God is to be regulated according to their Prescription*; and besides all this, before they enter upon their Papal Dignity, they take an Oath that they will maintain the Faith of many late Councils (in which all things are most fearfully depraved) and they promise most religiously, *that they will not change any thing*: and therefore what wonder is it, that no good is done by Councils, that Errors and Abuses are not taken away; that the Ambassadors of Princes are to no purpose call'd together, from such distant places, out of all Lands? and yet I hear that there are some good men at this time, who not well considering what they say, tho they condemn the Pride of the Pope and his Persian State and Magnificence, and his Epicurean Contempt of all Religion, yet they would preserve for all that, his Authority safe and intire; and tho sometimes they confess him to be Antichrist, yet for all that, as soon as he

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ascends that Chair, they do not question but he is the universal Bishop, and the Head of the universal Church of Christ; and here they please themselves, as if the Holy Ghost were necessarily fixed to the Popes Court in the *Adrian Mole*; but there is a Proverb, that the Place doth not sanctifie the Man, but the Man the Place. And St. Jerome, as he is cited by them, saith, they are not the Children of the Saints who hold their Places, but those who imitate their good Actions; for otherwise, as Christ said, the Scribes and Pharisees sate in Moses his Chair, and he commanded his Disciples to acknowledge and submit to their Authority, so far as they answered out of the Word of God. What (saith St. Augustin) hath Christ said more here, than that the Voice of the Shepherd was heard out of the Mouth of a mercenary Servant? for sitting in that Chair, they teach the Law of God, therefore God teacheth by them; but if they will teach their own things, do not hear them, do not do them; for St. Paul saith, Antichrist the Man of Sin shall sit in the Holy Place; and therefore St. Jerome doth well admonish us, thou dost attend St. Peter, but then consider Judas; thou submittest to Stephen, but cast an Eye towards Nicholas at the same time; Church Dignity doth not make a Christian. Thus St. Jerome, and certainly it is said that Marcellinus the Pope did sacrifice to Idols: Pope Liberius was an Arrian, Pope John the XXII. was a Heretick, in the point of the immortality of the Soul; Pope John the VIII. was a Woman, and in her Popedom, by a lewd Lust, committed Adultery, and

in a Proceſſion, in the miſt of the Pomp, before the Eyes of the Biſhops and Cardinals, ſhe brought forth a Child; and Liranus ſaith, that many Roman Popes apoſtized from the Faith of Chriſt; and therefore we muſt not truſt too much to Places, Succeſſions, and vain Titles of Dignity. The impious Nero was deſcended from Metellus the Pious, and Annas and Caiaphas ſucceeded to Aaron, and an Idol hath often been put in the place of God.

26. **BUT** Sir, I beſeech you, what is that vaſt Power and Authority that they ſo very inſolently boaſt of? Or from whence had they it? from Heaven or from Men? Chriſt (ſay they) ſaid to Peter, *upon this Rock will I build my Church: in theſe words the Papal Power is confirm'd, for the Church of Chriſt is placed upon Peter as upon its Foundation; but Chriſt in theſe words gave nothing to St. Peter apart from the reſt of the Apoſtles, neither did he here make any mention of the Pope or City of Rome. Chriſt is that Rock, Chriſt is that Foundation: No man (ſaith St. Paul) can lay another Foundation, than that which is already laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt.*

27. And St. Auguſtin, *upon this Rock (ſaith he) I will build my Church: by the Words, upon this Rock (ſaith he) is underſtood the Confeſſion made by Peter, ſaying, thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God; for (ſaith he) it is not ſaid thou art a Rock, but thou art Peter, but the Rock was Chriſt. And St. Baſil, upon theſe words, upon this Rock, that is (ſaith he) upon this Faith I will build my Church.* And the moſt ancient

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Father Origen, the Rock (saith he) is every Disciple of Christ, after he hath drunk of the Spiritual Rock which follows; and upon every such Rock is all the Churches Doctrine built. Now (Sir) if you will suppose that the whole Church is built only upon Peter, what will you say of John the Son of Thunder, and all the rest of the Apostles? Or shall we dare to say that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against Peter only, but against the rest of the Apostles and Heads of the Church those Gates may prevail? or rather is that Saying, *that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail*, to be understood of all and every one of them of whom it was spoken? and so is that other Expression to be taken too, *upon this Rock will I build my Church*. And are the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given only to Peter by Christ, or was no other of the blessed (Apostles) to receive them? But if that Expression, *to thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, be to be understood as spoken to all the rest as well as to Peter, why then should not all that was spoken, as well what went before, as what follows after, tho spoken to St. Peter, yet be common to all the Apostles? There is (saith Hillary) *one happy Rock of Faith*, which Peter confessed with his Mouth; and again, *upon this Confession of Peter's is the Church built*; and not much after, *this Faith is the Foundation of the Church*. And after the same manner the other Fathers also Jerome, Cyril and Bede say, the Church is built not upon Peter, but upon the Faith
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of Peter, that is, on Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom Peter, by an Heavenly instinct, confessed. Peter (saith St. *Augustin*) was so call'd from the Rock, not the Rock from Peter; nor did Christ say, I will build my self upon thee, but I will build thee upon me. And *Nicholas Liranus*, tho he is not always a good Author, for you know in what Age he lived, yet he rightly took this; upon this Rock (saith he) that is, upon Christ: and therefore the Church cannot depend upon any man, by reason of his Dignity and Ecclesiastical Power, for many Popes have proved Apostates.

28. IN what then is this Papal Authority placed? In Teaching, but they teach nothing; in administering the Sacraments, but they do not administer them; in feeding, but they feed none. Now this is all the Power which Christ bestowed upon the Apostles; Go ye (saith he) into all the World and preach the Gospel, &c. hence forward ye shall be Fishers of Men; and as the living Father sent me, so I send you. But as to these, whither go they? what do they teach? what do they preach? what do they fish for? from whence go they? or by whom are they sent? their's is no Apostolick Authority, but Pride, and an intolerable Lordship usurped by Force and Tyranny. None of us (saith *Cyprian*) calls himself Bishop of Bishops, or compells his Partners to a necessitated Obedience by a Tyrannical Terror. Seeing every Bishop may use his Liberty and Power according to his own Discretion, as he cannot be judg-
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ed by another, so neither can he judge another. And as the other Apostles (saith he) were the same which Peter was; so all Bishops are endow- ed with this equal Partnership both of Honour and Power. And St. Jerome saith, greater is the Authority of the World, than that of any City. Why then do you produce to me the Custome of one City? Why do you vindicate that Paucity, from which this Pride arose against the Laws of the Church? Where-ever a Bishop is settled, whe- ther at Rome or Eugubium, whether at Con- stantinople or Rhegium, he is of the same Worth, and of the self same Priesthood; the greatness of Riches, and the Humility of Poverty makes not one Bishop superior or inferior to ano- ther. And St. Gregory saith, Peter was a prin- cipal Member in the Body; John, Andrew, and James were the Heads of particular People, and yet all of them are Members of the Church in one Head; yea, the Saints before the Law, those under the Law, and those under Grace, and all those who make up the Body of our Lord (the Church) are to be accounted Members, and no man ever yet desired to be call'd an UNIVERSAL.

29. THIS is that Power which some men defend so stoutly in this Age; so that whatever they think of the Popes Life or Religion, yet they would have this Authority Sacred and untouched, as if the Church of God could not be safe without it: or as if, without the Popes Will and Consent, a Council could be no Council; and that if the whole World should think contrary to what

what he doth, it would be nothing. And therefore when you see (Sir) that these things are thus ill managed, you ought not to wonder; that when nothing is now sincerely and truly acted in Councils, our Men had rather stay at home, than travail so far to no purpose, to a Place where they are sure to lose their Labour and their Cause too.

30. *BUT Sir, you say in the next place, it is a Sin to change any thing in Religion, without the Consent of the Pope and a Council.* Why Sir? the very Popes themselves have changed almost the whole State of the Primitive Church without any Council; and tho this is indeed a very specious and winning Proposition, yet it is made a Cover and Defence for most foul Errors; for they only seek to delay the Minds of Men with a tedious Expectation, that by lingring and weariness, they may take off their Edge and Keeness, and so by degrees, make them cast off all Hopes of a Reformation. For, what would they have the People of God be deceived, err, be deluded and involved in Error, and in the Ignorance of God, and be led into eternal Ruine and Destruction, whilst the Pope calls a Council, and the Abbots and Bishops (*meet, debate, settle things*) and then return home? Is it not lawful for any of us to believe in Christ, to profess the Gospel, to worship God rightly and truly, to fly from Superstitions and the Worship of Idols, except these men please to give us leave?

leave? In truth, the state of the Church of God were very deplorable, if in the midst of so many far spread, gross, blind, foul, apparent and manifest Errors, so that our very Enemies themselves cannot deny them; nothing could be done for her Relief, without the Concourse of the whole World and a *General Council*, or at least, of such a Council as we cannot hope for with any certainty, and the event of which, if we now had it, is much more uncertain. When of old, the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, and began to destroy all before them, and the *Lacedemonians* whose valour was then much famed amongst the *Grecians*, and therefore it was but reasonable they should have been the first in the defence of their Country; yet because they had an ancient Custom and a Superstitious conceit that had possessed them from the time of *Lycurgus*, that it was ominous and unfortunate to begin a Martial Expedition at any other time than that of the full Moon, therefore they sat still and suffered their Enemies to plunder and burn their Country, whilst they were foolishly expecting that period of the Moon, which was most opportune and fitting to begin their defence in. But at last they bethought themselves and cried, *There is equal danger in the delay*. The safety of the Church is in danger, the Devil like a ramping and a roaring Lyon goes about seeking whom he may devour; simple men are easily drawn into the snare, and tho

tho they are very often touched with a Zeal for God, yet out of Ignorance and Misperſwaſion, they perſecute the Son of God: And as Nazianzen ſaith, *When they think they are in Arms for Chriſt, they do really fight againſt him.* And the Biſhops who ought in the firſt place to take care of theſe things, either like vain Night-Spirits throw every thing into Diſorder and Confuſion; or (that I may tell the truth without diſguiſe) encrease the Errors, and double the darkneſs. Now Sir, after all this ſhould we have ſit ſtill and expected the determination of theſe Fathers with our Arms folded together, and doing nothing? No, St. Cyprian ſaith, *There is but one Episcopacy (in the whole Church) a ſolid and intire part of which, is enjoyed by every Biſhop: and every one ſhall ſurely give an account to the Lord for his own part. Their blood will I require at thy hand, ſaith the Lord. And if any man puts his hand to the Plough, and looketh back, and is ſolicitous what others may think of him, and expects the Authority of a General Council; and in the mean time hides his Lords Treafure he ſhall hear, thou ſlothful and wicked Servant: Take him and caſt him into outer darkneſs. Suffer (ſaith Chriſt) the dead to bury their dead, but come thou and follow me.* The truth of God depends not upon men. In Humane Counſels it is the part of a wiſe man to ſtay for the judgment and conſent of men; but in the Affairs of

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Religion, the voice of God ought to supercede the need of all others; which as soon as a devout Soul has heard, he yeilds presently, submits, and neither stands off, nor expects any other; for he knows that then he ought neither to believe the Pope nor Council, but the Will of God thus revealed. And this voice is to be obeyed, tho opposed by all men. The Prophet *Eliza* immediately obeyed God, tho he did believe that he was alone. *Abraham* upon the Admonition of God went out of *Caldea*, *Lot* went out of *Sodom*, and the three Children made a publick Confession of their Religion, and openly detested Idolatry, without expecting a General Council. *Go out of her* (saith the Angel) *and be not partakers of her sins, that ye partake not of her Plagues*; he doth not say stay for a Synod of the Bishops. Thus the true Religion was at first published, and so it must be now restored. The Apostles at first taught the Gospel without any publick Council, and without any such Council it may now be called back, and reinstated. But if Christ himself or his Apostles in the beginning would have delayed and put off the whole business till a future Council. *When should the sound of them have gone out into all Lands?* How should the Kingdom of God have suffered force, and the violent have taken it by a kind of Invasion? Where had the Gospel now been? Where would the Church of God have been?

been? In truth we neither fear nor fly from a Council, but rather wish for and desire it, so it may be free, genuine, and Christian, and may be conven'd after the pattern of that of the Apostles: provided that the Abbots and Bishops may be discharged of their Oath, by which they are now bound to the *Popes of Rome*; and that whole Combination now on foot may be dissolved; provided those of our Party may be freely and modestly heard, provided they be not condemned before they are heard: And lastly upon condition that if any thing be done, no one man may weaken or rescind all again. But now whilst we saw that the present manners and times would not allow us thus much; and that the most absurd, silly, ridiculous, superstitious, and wicked things were most stily defended, only because they had been heretofore received, and purely for custom sake. We judged it to be our duty to provide for, and take care of our own Churches in a National Council.

31. FOR we know that the Spirit of God is neither bound to any place or number of men. *Tell it (said Christ) to the Church*: To wit, not to the universal Church which is spread all over the World, but to the particular, which may meet in some one place. *Wheresoever (saith he) two or three of you are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of you.* So St. Paul, that he might reform the Churches of Co-

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rinth and *Galatia*, did not command them to stay for a *General Council*, but wrote to them that they would forthwith cut off all Errors and Disorders: And so heretofore whilst the Bishops slept and did nothing, or rather defil'd and polluted the Temple of God, God by extraordinary ways excited others who were great men, and of generous minds, to reform whatever was amiss.

32. BUT then, Sir, we have done nothing rashly, nor without very great reason, nothing but what we saw was lawful at all times to be done; and which had often been done by the Holy Fathers without any blame. And thus calling together the Bishops, and a very full Synod, by the common consent of all our *States*, We cleansed the Church of those Dregs and Corruptions which either the carelessness or malice of Men had brought in, and purged it as the *Augean Stable*: And as far as it was possible, we have reduced all things to their ancient Splendor, and the resemblance of the Apostolical times, and Primitive Church. And all this, as we might lawfully do it, so for that cause have we done it confidently.

33. THAT which Pope *Gregory* the First wrote about these Affairs please me; and the more because he wrote about the Institution of the *English Churches* to *Augustin* Bishop of the *English*. He exhorts him then, not that he should refer things
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to a Council, but that according to his Discretion, he should appoint such things as he saw did most tend to the encrease of Piety. You know (saith he) my Brother, the Custom of the Church of Rome, in which you were brought up; but I am best pleased with this Course, that where-ever you find any thing which is most pleasing to Almighty God, whether it be in the Church of Rome, or that of France, or in any other Church, you would carefully pick and choose the principal things, and settle them in the Church of England, which is yet new and to be settled in the Faith, and that in the Constitution thereof, you should instill those things which you have thus collected from many several Churches; for Customs are not to be loved for the sake of the Places, but the Places for their Sakes.

34. After the same manner the Fathers in the Council of Constantinople wrote to Damasus Pope of Rome, and the rest of the Western Bishops. Ye know the ancient Sanction and Definition of the Council of Nice, was ever in force; that as to the Care of the Administration of particular Churches, the Clergy in every Province taking their Neighbours, if they thought fit, should confer Ecclesiastical Dignities upon those they believed would manage them profitably. And the African Fathers wrote thus to Pope Celestinus. Your Holiness may be pleased to reject the unjust Appeals or Recourses of our Presbyters, and the inferior Clerks of our Church; as becometh

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you; for this was never denied to the Church of Affrica by any Definition of the Fathers; and the Decrees of the Nicene Council have most plainly committed both all inferiour Clerks, and also all the Bishops to their own Metropolitans: for all Affairs may be most prudently and justly ended in those places where they began, nor will the Grace and Assistance of the Holy Ghost be wanting to any Province. Let this Equity be ever of great esteem with all Christian Priests, which hath been constantly retained.

35. BUT Elutherius Bishop of Rome wrote much better, and more pertinently to the thing we have now in hand in his Epistle to *Lucius*, a King in Britain. You have (saith he) desired I would send you the Roman and Cæsarean Laws, which you have a desire to settle in your Kingdom of Britain: We may abrogate the Roman and Imperial Laws when we will, but not the Law of God; for you have, by the Mercy of God, received the Law and Faith of Christ in your Kingdom of Britain; and you have with you in your Kingdom both Testaments; compile out of them, by the Assistance of God, and the Counsel of your Kingdom, a Law, and then by it, with Gods permission, govern your said Kingdom, for you are the VICAR OF GOD in that Kingdom, according to that of the Psalmist, the Earth is the Lords.

36. IN short, *Victor* Bishop of Rome, held a Provincial Synod at Rome, and *Justinianus* the Emperor commandeth, that
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if need require, Synods should be held in each Province, and threatned, that if this were neglected, he would punish those that made default. Every Province (saith St. Jerome) hath its particular Manners, Rites and Opinions, which cannot easily be removed or changed without a very great disturbance. And why should I commemorate the most ancient Municipal Councils, that of Elisberis, Gangra, Laodicea, Ancyra, Antioch, Tarsus, Carthage, Milevis, Toledo, and Bourdeaux, for this is no new thing. So was the Church of God governed before the Fathers met in the Council of Nice; for they had not presently recourse to a General Council. Theophilus held a Provincial Synod in Palestine, Palmas in Pontus, Irenaeus in Gaul, Basilus in Achaia, Origen against Beryllus in Arabia; and I omit many other Provincial Synods which were kept in Africa, Asia, Greece and Egypt, which were most Pious, Orthodox and Christian, tho the Pope had nothing to do with them. For the Bishops then, as necessity required, and as things fell out, presently consulted the Well-fare of their Churches in Domestic Councils, and sometimes implored the Assistance of their neighbour Bishops, at other, they frankly aided each other without asking, and if need were, did by turns help one the other. Nor did only the Bishops, but Princes of those times, think that the Concerns of the Church pertain'd to their Office; for to omit Nebuchadnezar, who published

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a Capital Edi&t against all that should blaspheme the God of *Israel*; and *David*, *Solomon*, *Ezechias*, and *Josias*, who did partly build, and partly reform the Temple of God. *Constantius* the Emperor, without any Council, took away the Worship of Idols, and put forth a most severe Edi&t, by which he made it capital for any man to offer Sacrifice to any Idol. *Theodosius* the Emperor, commanded all the Temples of the Pagan Gods to be razed to the Ground. *Jovianus*, another of them, so soon as ever he was declared Emperor; made his first Law for the restitution of the Christian Exiles. *Justinianus* was wont to say, that his Care of the Christian Religion was as great as that of his Life. *Joshua*, so soon as ever he was made the Governour of the People, had Precepts concerning Religion and the Worship of God given him; for Princes are the nursing Fathers of the Church, and the Keepers of both Tables; nor was there any one Cause why God settled Governments in the World greater than this, viz. That there might be some to preserve Religion and Piety in safety.

37. AND therefore many Princes in this Age do sin the more grievously, who being call'd Christians, sit idely and enjoy their Pleasures, and tamely suffer wicked Rites of Worship, and the Contempt of the Deity; and turn over all this Care to the Bishops, and those very Bishops whom they know to have all Religion in the utmost degree of scorn;

scorn; as if the Care of the Churches and People of God did not at all belong to them, or as if they were meer Herds-men of Cattle, and to take care of Bodies, but not in the least of mens Souls; they remember not in the mean time, that they are the *Ministers of God*, and chosen for that purpose, that they might *serve the Lord*. *Ezechias the King* would not go up to his own House until he saw the Temple of God thoroughly purged. And *David* said, *I will not give Sleep to my Eyes, no Slumber to my Eye-lids, until I find out a Place for the Lord, a Tabernacle for the God of Jacob*. O that Christian Princes would hear the Voice of their Lord and Sovereign. *Be Psal. 2. 11.*
wise now therefore, O ye Kings; be learned, O ye that are Judges of the Earth. I have said (saith he) *that ye are Gods*, that is, men divinely chosen, who should take care of my Name. Think thou whom I have raised from the Dunghil, and placed in the highest degree of Dignity and Honour, and set over my People, when thou so studiously buildst and adornest thy own House, how thou canst despise and neglect my House; or how thou canst every day petition me, that I would confirm thy Kingdom to thee and thy Posterity. What, that my Name may for ever be treated unworthily? that the Gospel of my Christ may be extinguished? that my Servants may, for my Sake, be butchered before thy Eyes, and in thy View? that this Tyranny may rage the longer? that my People may be imposed upon for ever? that the
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Scandal may be confirm'd by thee? *Wo to him by whom Scandals come*; and wo to him by whom they are confirm'd. Thou tremblest at the Blood of Bodies, how much more shouldest thou abhor the Blood of Souls? remember what I did to *Antiochus, Herod, and Julian, I will translate thy Kingdom unto thy Enemy, because thou hast sinned against me.* I change Times and Seasons, I reject Kings, and I set them up, that thou mayst understand that I am the most highest, and that I rule in the Kingdoms of men, and give them to whom I will; I bring down and I lift up; I glorifie those that glorifie me, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.

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